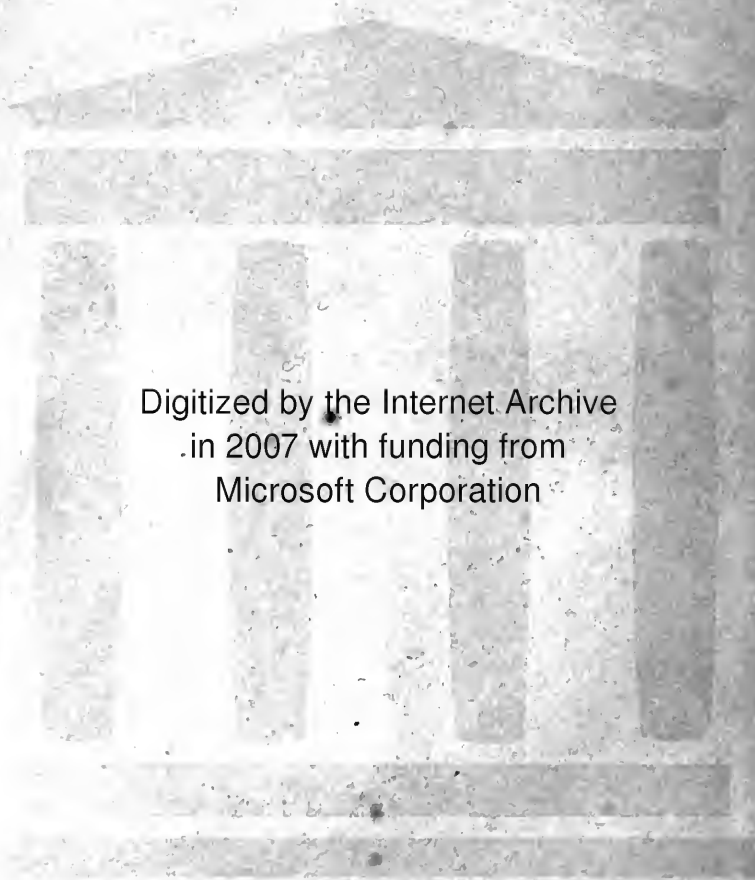


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House erected and occupied by the Rev. Jacob Johnson.

It stood at the northeast corner of River and Union Streets, and in later years was owned and occupied by Dr. C. F. Ingham.

From a photograph taken in 1887.

Kindly loaned by Oscar J. Harvey, Esq.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

PREFACE.

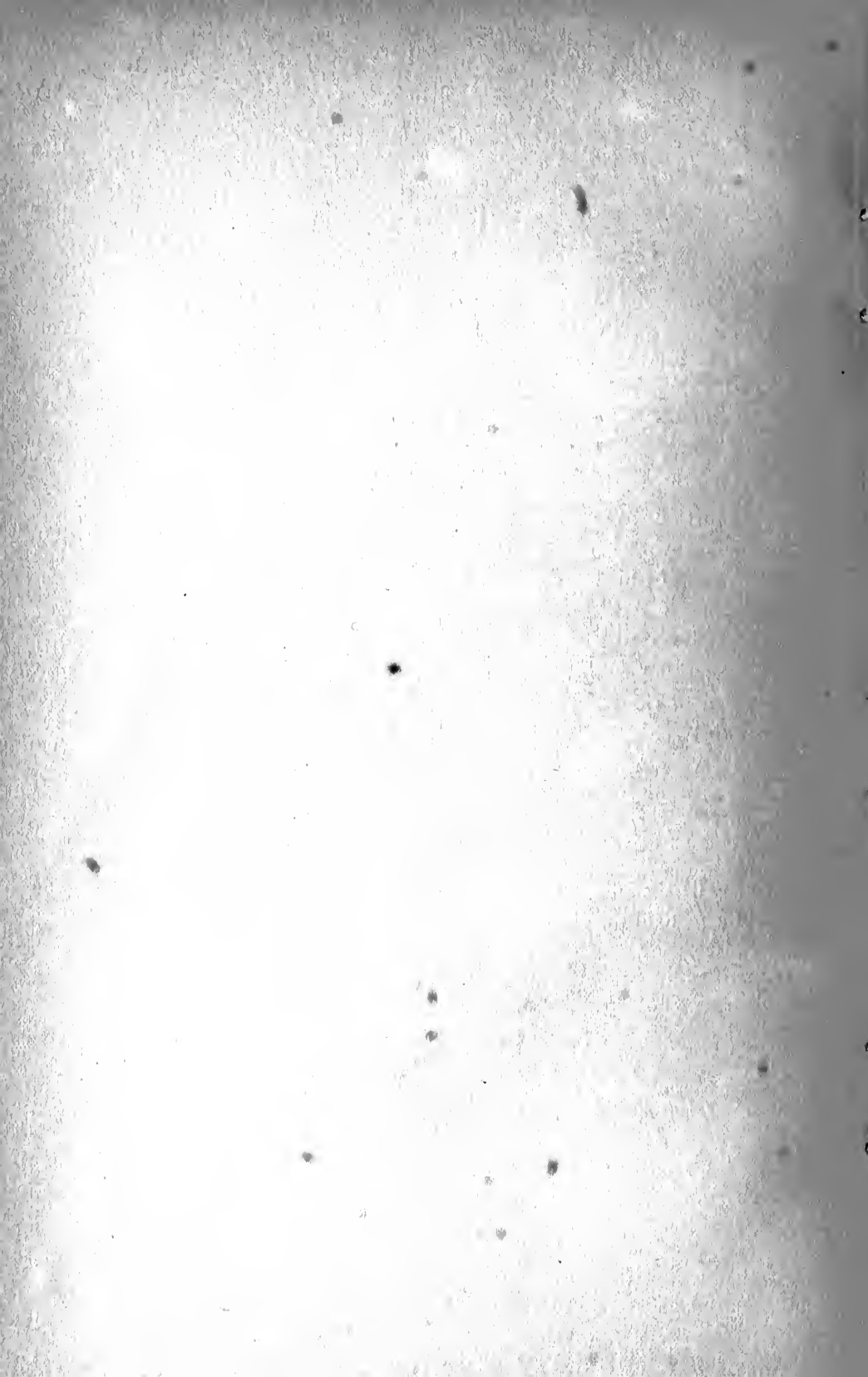
The Publishing Committee is glad to be able to report the increase of the "Coxe Publication Fund" during the past year to \$10,000, thus insuring the financial ability of the Society to issue an annual volume.

The presentation of the "Reminiscences of Rev. Jacob Johnson, M. A.," full of Wyoming interest, will doubtless please the historical readers. They throw much light on the effort of Mr. Johnson and others to establish a school among the Indians of the Six Nations, as well as upon the history of the early church in Wilkes-Barré and parts adjacent.

The promise made in volume X to publish in the present volume a part of the "Westmoreland Records" in the possession of the Society, was dependent upon the issue of the third volume of the fine history of Wilke-Barré, by O. J. Harvey, Esq. As that volume has been necessarily delayed, it was thought best to await its issue rather than to anticipate Mr. Harvey's work. The Westmoreland Records will probably be a feature of volume XII for 1911.

The Committee is indebted to Mr. Harvey for the use of the plate of the old Jacob Johnson house used as our frontispiece.

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
MISS MYRA POLAND,
GEORGE FREDERICK CODDINGTON,
Publishing Committee.



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PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS
OF THE
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Volume XI.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

1910.

PROCEEDINGS.

DECEMBER 11, 1908. The quarterly meeting was held this evening to take action on a proposed amendment to the By-laws, approved by the Trustees October 13. The Librarian moved to amend By-law sixth, page 18, by substituting the following for lines seventeen to twenty-one: "The Fund called the Harrison Wright Fund, and every other such special fund that has been or may be given by an individual or individuals for a specific purpose, and accepted thus by the Trustees, such as the 'Sheldon Reynolds Fund,' the 'Coxe Publication Fund,' the 'Laning Historical Fund,' the 'Butler Ethnological Fund,' the 'Hayden Geological Fund,' the 'Ingham Geological Fund,' and the 'Lacoe Paleozoic Fund,' and not designated for general purposes, shall bear the respective name given by the donor and be securely invested separately from the 'General Fund', and the Treasurer shall pay the interest of such special fund semi-annually to the Librarian, who shall receipt for the same, expend it under the direction of the Cabinet Committee (see By-law 16), keep an accurate account of the expenditures and render an annual report for each separate fund to the Trustees. Every fund of \$1,000 or more, whether special or general, shall bear the name given by the donors and shall be published annually by the Treasurer in his report. The Trustees shall pay to the Treasurer annually, or semi-annually, the accrued interest of all General Funds, or add the same to the Funds as they deem best for the Society."

JANUARY 8, 1909. The January meeting was held to-night to listen to the annual Geological Lecture, which was delivered by Prof. Thomas C. Hopkins, Ph. D., Professor of Geology, Syracuse University, N. Y., on "Glacial Erosion in San Juan Mountains, Colorado." The lecture was illustrated with stereoptican views and was referred, with a vote of thanks, to the Publishing Committee. A brief discussion of the subject followed. This was the first lecture under the "Horace E. Hayden Geological Fund."

FEBRUARY 11, 1909. The fifty-first annual meeting was held this evening. The following annual members were elected: Col. Lewis A. Watres and J. Benjamin Dimmock, Esq., both of Scranton. The officers of the previous year were re-elected without change. The annual reports of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, the Treasurer, and the Curator of Archaeology, were read and approved and unanimously referred to the Publishing Committee. This being the centennial of Charles Darwin, the eminent scientist, the day was celebrated by an admirable paper on this distinguished scholar by our member, Miss Anne Dorrance, A. B. (Vassar). A vote of thanks was passed to Miss Dorrance and her paper was referred to the Publishing Committee. The Librarian reported the gift to the Society of the manuscripts and business books of Col. Matthias Hollenback, covering the years from 1773 to 1830, presented by his heirs. Also twelve volumes of Biographical Annals from the Lewis Publishing Company, N. Y., all of which was acknowledged by a vote of thanks.

MAY 14, 1909. Quarterly meeting was held at 8 p. m. at the Rooms. The amendment to the By-law proposed and laid over at the quarterly meeting, December, 1908, was presented and unanimously adopted. The Rev. Dr. Ferdinand von Krug read an address prepared by Granville Henry, Esq., a corresponding member, entitled the "Pennsylvania German, His Personal Characteristics, etc." Mr. Henry was unable to be present. A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Henry for his paper, to Dr. von Krug for reading it, and the address was referred to the Publishing Committee. After the discussion of the paper the President re-appointed for the present year the Publishing Committee: Messrs. Hayden, Codrington and Miss Poland.

The following persons were elected honorary members: Thomas L. Montgomery, Esq., State Librarian, and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL. D., President William and Mary's College, Virginia.

DECEMBER 10, 1909. The regular quarterly meeting of the Society was held at 8 p. m. The attendance was so large that many had to be turned away.

Mr. Arthur C. Parker, an Indian of the Seneca Tribe, New York, and Archæologist of the State, being introduced, delivered a most interesting address on "The Aboriginal Occupation of Wyoming Valley from the Standpoint of Primitive Culture." The speaker illustrated his lecture with stereopticon views of various things of Indian life and manufacture, especially of specimens belonging to this Society. After the lecture a vote of thanks was unanimously passed, and his valuable paper was referred to the Publishing Committee. This lecture was the first under the "Augustus C. Laning Fund." The Society was indebted to the Rev. Dr. C. E. Mogg for the use of his stereopticon.

FEBRUARY 11, 1910. The fifty-second annual meeting of the Society was held this evening. After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Jones the reports of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, of the Curator of Archæology, and of the Treasurer were read, approved, and referred to the Publishing Committee. The Nominating Committee presented the names of the officers of last year for re-election, without change, except the substitution of Mr. William H. Conyngham as Vice President to succeed Dr. Levi I. Shoemaker, lately deceased. The following persons were duly elected to annual membership: Miss Cornelia M. Starke, Miss Caroline Ives Harrower, Arthur Hillman and Oscar J. Harvey, Esquires. The address of the evening was read by the Librarian, being a portion of an extended paper by Dr. F. C. Johnson, upon the experience of Rev. Jacob Johnson, the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barré, covering the years 1762-1772, as a missionary among the Pequot Indians, and the Six Nations. The whole of this very interesting paper was on motion referred to the Publishing Committee, with a vote of thanks to the author. It was rich with incidents of pre-revolutionary life and excited a great deal of interest. Dr. Johnson was prevented by his ill-health from reading the paper.

REPORTS.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the Year ending February 11, 1909.

*To the President and Members of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a:*

GENTLEMEN—It is my privilege to present to you the fifty-first annual report of the Society for the year ending to-day, February 11, 1909. With pardonable pride and sincere gratification I am able to state that the Society is now in a far more prosperous condition than ever before in its history.

When on the death of the late honored and able President, Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., in 1895, you selected me to take charge of these rooms with their treasures, it became my personal determination, Providence permitting, to spare no effort for the advancement of this Society until its endowment should reach the sum of \$50,000.

No one who has not essayed it can ever know the difficulty of attaining such a purpose. Not even those who most appreciate the success can measure the patient self-denial and persistent endeavors of those who are really interested, in the face of indifference and lack of public spirit.

In our appeal to the members and the public, made one year ago, we sought to secure by responsible pledges what would place the Society beyond the probability of failure. Toward the amount we aimed to secure, we have now attained in cash and in responsible pledges the sum of \$47,000, or \$22,000 in addition to what we had last February, Mr. George S. Bennett and Mr. Abram Nesbitt having each subscribed \$1,000 since the last report. Of this amount only \$6,500 is still unpaid but due December, 1909. This larger sum includes our eight (8) Special Funds created for special purposes. Excluding the "Coxe Publication Fund" of \$6,000, and the "Laning Historical Fund" of \$1,000, these Special Funds have been secured by small gifts, and the sale of many of our publications, and indicate what can be done by persistent and energetic action. There still remains to be secured the sum of \$3,000, toward which we have already received assurance of a part, if not the whole amount. When this addition comes to us the entire amount will be sufficient,

if wisely invested, to establish permanently the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

But the population of Wilkes-Barre alone has trebled within the past thirty years. It was 20,000 when the librarian first became a member of this Society in 1881. It is 60,000 to-day, and the territory whose history is covered and preserved by this Society—the county of Luzerne—with its daughters, the counties of Lackawanna and Wyoming, contains a population of 500,000 people, contrasted with 238,000 thirty years ago. Everything else in this section advances on broad lines of improvement, and education keeps pace with the very best interests. In the property valuation of Wilkes-Barre alone the increase in these thirty years has been from \$3,500,000 to \$46,180,000. The production of coal in the Wyoming section alone has grown in thirty years from 12,000,000 to 125,000,000 tons. So we cannot more than speculate on the demands which this Historical and Geological Society must meet in the way of historical and scientific knowledge in the near future. It must keep pace with those demands.

In these Rooms the evolution of the public school system in this city is shown by the photographs of three dilapidated frame buildings, which in 1864 would not hold over 150 pupils, as compared with our present handsome buildings with our average attendance of 9,000 pupils. I say this Society must keep pace with the highest march of historic and scientific research. Two decades ago—only twenty years—there were no public libraries in Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, while now the Albright at Scranton, the Osterhout, and the Historical Library in Wilkes-Barre, contain over 100,000 volumes, to which the general public of this entire section has access. So what this Society now needs is more energy and enthusiasm in pursuing the lines of education which it covers.

Thirty years from now none of these three libraries will meet the public demand if no proportionate increase in books, material and methods is made.

This Society now compares finely with other societies where work appears to be more effective. We have more than doubled the endowment of older and more active associations, such as the Connecticut Historical Society, eighty-three years old, or the Maryland Historical Society, sixty-four years old; the Virginia Historical Society, seventy-seven years old, none of which have over \$25,000 endowment.

But note the contrast: Take for example the Maryland Historical Society, now sixty-four years old, but far exceeding us in art—her gallery full of rare and masterful old family and historic portraits and paintings known all over the United States. Her history illustrated by 50,000 books. Her literature by many rich volumes annually issued from her press, her endowment only \$25,000. She is insured for \$66,000. But her home is a large building worth \$60,000. Her State gives her an annual appropriation of near \$3,000, equal to our entire income, and she has an interested public whose pride in its Historical Society compels generosity.

We rejoice in a fund of \$47,000. A few years ago when the valuable Lord Calvert Papers were offered for sale in Maryland for \$45,000, more than double her endowment, the members of the Maryland Society, and the non-members of Baltimore, promptly donated \$45,000 as a gift and secured those valuable manuscripts.

It is the public spirit that shows its appreciation of its Historical Society to which this fact especially directs your attention. I think we are fortunate that the appeal we made to our Legislature two years ago for any sum less than \$20,000 for the benefit of this Society failed. Though your librarian initiated and pressed the claim until \$5,000 was really approved, he rejoices that it failed, and that an awakened public spirit in its members has made up to us what we had asked for from the State. The success of our efforts to secure an endowment has also increased our life members from 141 in 1907 to 200 in 1909, thus increasing the life membership fund from \$14,000 to \$20,000, which will all be paid in by December, 1909.

For three years the members of this Society have patiently and promptly paid their annual dues of \$5.00 without having received in that time any tangible return, except the small pamphlet issued last spring. We are now issuing to members Volume X of our Proceedings and Collections. Three years ago, in January, 1906, Volume IX was issued, rich in ethnology and local history. But the Publishing Committee felt too keenly the burden of "making bricks without straw" to venture on another volume with "no visible means of support" to meet the necessary expense.

The "Coxe Publication Fund," given to us by two members of the Coxe family of Drifton and Philadelphia, has this year placed this work within our power. The fund of \$6,000 does not quite cover the cost of such a work. But

when we prove ourselves worthy of an increase it may yet reach the \$10,000 limit. And Volume X, containing all the proceedings of the centennial of Judge Fell's successful experiment with Wyoming coal, making this one of the richest valleys in the world, and the semi-centennial of our organization, will prove one of great interest to all who may receive a copy. It is a volume richly illustrated and of great credit to the Society and to old Luzerne county.

It is the purpose of the Publishing Committee, knowing that an Historical Society lives only so long as it publishes what is worth reading, to make sure the issue of our annual volume hereafter.

In Volume XI we will probably begin the publication of that portion of the rare original "Records of the Town of Westmoreland," 1773, now in the possession of this Society.

It is really a question of justice and public duty whether original manuscripts or papers in the hands of Wyoming families or individuals ought not to be preserved in this Society rather than to run the risk of their loss by fire or neglect. And whether historical papers that pertain to this section of the State, and are thought worthy of publication in the ephemeral form of newspaper articles, ought not to be reserved for issue by this Society, with the wide circulation of its volumes in all similar societies and public libraries. From Maine to California, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, the volumes of this Society are exchanged with, or sold to such institutions.

When the librarian first came to Wilkes-Barre he saw four or five flour barrels packed full of the papers and correspondence of one of the most eminent judges of the State in the hands of a junk dealer, sold to him for old paper. When it is known that the only complete files of Luzerne county and Wyoming newspapers extant, from 1797 to 1908, are in the library of this Society, many of which the librarian rescued from being thrown into the river, one can realize how little permanent value the thousand of historical papers published in them are to the general public. No one but our honored historiographer, Dr. F. C. Johnson, ever appreciated the importance of these newspaper articles until he began to re-print and preserve them from the "Daily Record," in his most valuable "Historical Record of the Wyoming Valley," fourteen volumes of which he has issued. Owing to the failure of his health, Dr. Johnson had had to discontinue this valuable "Historical Record," but he has

wisely donated the entire remainder to this Society within the past few months, to be sold to public libraries, and others, the proceeds to create a permanent "Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund," the interest of which will, when completed, be annually added to the current or general fund of the Society. Fully \$1,000 worth of this "Record" are on sale in this Society. It is gratifying, also, to record that Mr. John Welles Hollenback has just given to the Society all the account books and letters of the late Matthias Hollenback's estates, covering the years from 1773 to 1830, and pertaining to his business in the Wyoming section. This is a gift which future generations will value and use. The Society now has, besides these papers, which fill a large place in the fireproof safe, the papers of Volney L. Maxwell, Esq., and Mr. Ebenezer Bowman, many of the papers of Judge John N. Conyngham, Col. Zebulon Butler, General Lord Butler, Isaac Chapman, etc.

The librarian has already begun the "Jacob Johnson Fund" by the sale of nearly \$100 worth of the "Historical Record."

Four meetings of the Society were held during the past year.

The fiftieth annual meeting, February 11, 1908, commemorated the founding of this Society, February 11, 1858, and the successful experiment, one hundred years ago, of the burning of Wyoming anthracite coal in a domestic grate, by a citizen of Wilkes-Barre, Judge Jesse Fell. This semi-centennial and centennial were both largely celebrated by the Society, and also by the Wilkes-Barre Board of Trade, on this, and the following day. In the morning of the day the annual meeting listened to the annual reports of officers, elected officers for the ensuing year, together with nineteen annual and life members; and in the evening, in the auditorium of the Y. M. C. A. building, a large audience listened to two most interesting addresses; the first, by John W. Jordan, LL. D., Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the "Importance and Scope of Historical Societies, and This Society in Particular"; the second, by William Griffith, C. E., the Curator of Paleobotany, on "Some of the Beneficial Results of Judge Jesse Fell's Experiment with Wyoming Coal."

Mr. Griffith's paper was followed by his valuable "Remarks" on the subject, illustrated with stereopticon views.

These addresses are published in Volume X. On the following night the Wilkes-Barre Board of Trade held a banquet to commemorate Judge Jesse Fell's experiment, at which 600 citizens listened to eloquent addresses by leading speakers, Mayor Fred C. Kirkendall, of our city; Hon. Benjamin J. Dimmick, Mayor of Scranton; C. LaRue Munson, Esq., of Williamsport; Bradley W. Lewis, Esq., of Tunkhannock, and Rev. Edward G. Fullerton, Ph. D., of Wilkes-Barre.

The quarterly meeting of October 13, 1908, was held by the Trustees to receive and accept the report of the Celebration Committee, and to arrange for the investment of the special funds. It was unanimously resolved at this meeting that "all special funds given and accepted for special department purposes, such as the Butler or "Ethnological Fund", the Lacoe, Ingham and Hayden or "Geological Funds", etc., shall be invested separately from the general fund, and the interest of such special funds shall be paid semi-annually to the librarian, who shall expend it under the direction of the Cabinet Committee, as per By-law 16, and make an annual report of the same to the Trustees. This resolution will be before the Society to-day for action as an amendment to By-law 6. It will protect the special funds from suffering through any depreciation of the general investments.

The quarterly meeting, December 11, 1908, took action on the proposed amendment to By-law 6 (*supra*, p. 8).

The January meeting, held on the 8th of last month, was called to hear the annual geological lecture, which was delivered by Thomas Cramer Hopkins, Ph. D., professor of geology, in Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. The subject was "Glacial Erosion in the San Juan Mountains, Colorado," illuminated by many fine stereopticon views from photographs taken by the speaker. The purpose of the lecture was to prove by examples that glacial action does erode the rocks and surface of the earth, as against a theory to the contrary, lately advanced by some scientific writers.

This was the first geological address on the "Hayden Geological Fund" foundation. It will be published in Volume XI, and will be followed annually by addresses from eminent geologists from other educational institutions, intended to be a marked feature of every annual volume. Arrangements are being made by which we hope to have one or two historical papers read before the Society this

year by prominent writers on the "Laning Historical Lecture" foundation. These will be worthy of the attention of the best scholars and will add *éclat* to our Society. The centennial medal to commemorate Judge Fell's experiment, and issued by this Society in February last, was a financial success as well as a work of art. Copies enough were sold to cover the expense of issue and to have on hand a small number for exchange with other societies.

Among the gifts of interesting relics to the Society is the old cornerstone of Joseph Slocum's house on the Public Square, late Brown's book store, now the site of the First National Bank Building, that institution having presented it to the Society. It is marked "J. S., 1807".

The attendance of visitors at the rooms during the past year has not quite equaled that of the three previous years, when an average of about 6,500 persons were registered.

The Trustees two years ago authorized the plan of having especial days and hours for children who desired to visit the collections, but this was not put into practical use until September last. It was found that the admission of children all through the week greatly hindered the work of the librarian and assistant librarian, requiring so much attention from pressing duties. The change has been found very satisfactory. Children unaccompanied by parents or teacher are admitted only on Fridays from 1 to 5 p. m. and Saturdays from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m. This has brought the children visitors down to 2,500, without decreasing the number of adult visitors or schools accompanied by teachers. The number registered during the past year is over 5,500—2,850 adults, 2,670 children. The number of students who came to examine books and geological collections about as usual—fully 600. Eleven public schools, numbering from ten to sixty pupils, in charge of teacher, from Dunmore, West Pittston, Dallas and Kingston, and elsewhere, to the number of 350, have attended.

But it is really disheartening to your librarian, in spite of the prosperity that has marked the past year, to note how very few members of the Society enter its doors. It is certain that of the 308 living members of the Society not ten per cent., including the officers of the Society, have visited the rooms during the past year except to attend the four regular meetings—less than thirty of our members have been so much interested as even to call and inquire as to the progress made, or the books received, etc., etc.

The Society has received during the past year the gift of a portrait of the late Major Jacob Ridgway Wright, B. A., a member for twenty years; recording secretary, 1885-1886; librarian, 1887-1899; life member, 1898, and vice president, 1900-1905, presented by Mrs. Wright.

During the year the library has received from every source 550 books and 1,100 pamphlets. They were divided thus:

	Books.	Pamphlets.
U. S. Depository	240	832
Purchase	64	—
Gifts	100	360
Exchange	109	93
State of Pennsylvania	35	—
	<hr/> 548	<hr/> 1,285
		548
Total		<hr/> 1,733

From the Lewis Publishing Co., N. Y., twelve handsome quarto volumes of Genealogical History, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Among the most valuable gifts to the library are the full files of the daily newspapers of this section:

Wilkes-Barre Daily Record	6
Wilkes-Barre Weekly	1
Leader	4
Times-Leader	4
News	3
Pittston Gazette	4
Scranton Republican	4
Newport News, R. I., with genealogical column. .	1
Board of Trade Journal	1
Industrial Gazette	1
	<hr/>
Total	29

Among the gifts to the library, those most noticeable are from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, six volumes of Franklin Papers, also gifts from Col. R. Bruce Ricketts, Mrs. William DeW. Kennedy, Dr. F. C. Johnson, and the Librarian.

The Corresponding Secretary has found his work much interfered with by duties outside of his correspondence, thus

much reducing the addition of books, etc. He has received about 550 letters and communications, and has written 400 letters, issued card notices of two meetings, besides acknowledging gifts, exchanges, and expressing publications; his mail numbering fully 1,200 pieces.

The membership of the Society reported in Volume IX, 1905, was:

Life members	123
Annual members	195
	<hr/>
	318

1907:

Life members	141
Annual members	205
	<hr/>
	346

In 1908-9 the life members numbered 178, including four Founder and eleven Benefactors, with twenty-five unpaid subscriptions due December 31, 1909, which will increase the life list to 203.

In 1908-9 the annual members were	205
Reduced by death	8
	<hr/>
	197

From this will be deducted December 31, 1909, by life members subscriptions	15
	<hr/>
	182

Add to this the life members	203
	<hr/>
	385

Total385

You will recall the fact that in 1903, five years ago, Mr. Christopher Wren, now our curator of archaeology, presented to this Society his splendid collection of Indian relics, 10,000 in number, all from the Susquehanna water shed. In accepting this collection, which has been an important and very attractive factor in the development of the Society, we advised Mr. Wren that when the finances of the Society would warrant it, a special case would be made to hold this collection. To this day the Society has been unable to fulfil this promise. Mr. Wren still has in his hands 2,000 fine specimens of Indian art which he desires to add to his collection, but will not do so until some assurance is given him

of the preparation of the promised case, which will cost about \$100. I urgently recommend some action on the part of the Society in this matter.

The only shadow that has fallen upon the Society during its semi-centennial year, with its wealth of light and promise, has been the "Shadow of Death." The silent reaper has cut a broad swathe through the list of members during the past five years—thirty-four of our members having passed into eternity since February, 1904; ten since the last annual meeting. Of these fourteen are memorialized in Volume X and twenty still remain to be noticed in the next volume, as will be seen on page 242. Those not already reported are: Mrs. Esther T. F. Wadhams, Dr. Frederick Corss, Edwin E. Hoyt, Esq., Mr. A. H. VanHorn, Mrs. Josephine W. Hillman, Mr. Burton Voorhis, Dr. William G. Weaver, of the resident members, and Mr. George W. Fish and Prof. Otis T. Mason, Ph. D., LL. D., of the corresponding members.

In conclusion I beg to report that the income of the Society last year was about \$2,500; during the present year it will be \$3,000. In 1910 it will reach \$3,500. Then we will hope to be able to begin the long neglected work of binding our volumes of magazines and other unbound books, of which over 500 volumes are still waiting the binder. In 1907 we had the misfortune to lose our skilled cataloguer, Miss Susan C. Foote, from lack of funds to continue her work. One blessing that has come to us during the past year was the ability of taking up again this important work, for which Miss Ernestine M. Kaehlin, our assistant librarian, was secured in February, 1908, and who continues to do very satisfactory work in her department.

RESUME.

In 1886 the Society had no reserve fund.

In 1893 it was \$4,500; 1909, \$47,000.

In 1893 the library had 10,000 volumes; 1909, 20,000 volumes.

In 1893 ethnology had 10,000 pieces; 1909, 25,000 pieces.

The life membership began 1886.

Life membership 1886, 4; in 1909, 203.

Annual members, 1886, 120; of these seventy-five are dead and thirty are now members.

The four life members have grown to 203.

The thirty annual members to 184.

In 1893 we had one portrait; in 1909 we have 150.

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

**Report of the Curator of Archaeology for the Year ending
February 11, 1909.**

WILKES-BARRE, PENN'A., February 11, 1909.

*To the Officers and Members of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a:*

GENTLEMAN—In presenting my report of the Archeological Department of our Society for the year ending February 11, 1909, I would say that there is not much of special importance to report.

During the year the Society purchased from J. E. Townsend, of Berwick, Penn'a., an unusually fine lot of flint or jasper blades, consisting of forty-eight pieces from three to four inches long each. As Mr. Townsend says, he found all of these specimens buried in a single *cache*; they seem to me to be unique for this locality. Warren K. Moorehead, of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., found a collection of similar implements in a *cache* at Flint Ridge, Ohio, numbering somewhat over five thousand pieces some years ago, but such finds, up to this time, in the Susquehanna River region have been extremely rare and are worthy of special mention.

The study of ethnology from the artifacts of the peoples who left no other recorded history, continues to command increased attention both in the United States and Europe. It may be of interest to remark that the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, during the year 1908, established a department for the study of archeology, in which the students will be equipped to be curators in this field of knowledge. Being the first University in the United States to make archeology a distinct branch in its curriculum, the University thus becomes the pioneer.

Members of the Coxe family, of Drifton, Penn'a, who are also members of our Society, have sent an expedition to Egypt, whose explorations of buried ruins during the year 1908 have resulted in the securing of unusually valuable information about early Egyptian history and have been the subject of comment among the leading professional archeologists.

As indicated by the number of visitors to the rooms during the year 1908, the interest of the public in the general collections and the reference works of the Society seems to continue.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Curator.

**Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the
Year ending February 11, 1910.**

Mr. President, and Members of the Society:

I have very great pleasure in presenting to you the annual report of this Society covering the year from February 11, 1909, to February 11, 1910. To-day is the fifty-second birthday of our Society and the report is a source of unusual gratification and rejoicing. We have realized the dreams which were excited in us by our semi-centennial. We aimed to increase our endowment fund to \$50,000. Last year the subscriptions reached \$47,000. To-day they exceed \$50,000. That "nothing succeeds like success" is a proverb that is rich in hope. When public spirited men see that their gifts bear fruit, and success follows endeavor, they are stimulated to even more generous benefactions, so that we may yet see the permanency of this institution more fully guaranteed in the future.

We have now twenty special and individual funds; the minimum of each will be, in time \$1,000, and the aggregated fund now invested is \$47,000. Of these, the special funds are:

Zebulon Butler Fund, for Ethnology	\$ 1,000.00
Coxe Publication Fund, for the Annual Volume. . .	10,000.00
Andrew Hunlock Fund, for Binding Books.	1,000.00
Horace E. Hayden Fund, for Geological Lectures . .	1,500.00
Ralph D. Lacoe Fund, for Paleozoology	1,000.00
Charles F. Ingham Fund, for Geology, now	530.00
Augustus C. Laning Fund, for Historical Ad- dresses	1,000.00
Sheldon Reynolds Fund, for Rare American History	1,000.00
Stanley Woodward Fund for Historical Addresses . .	555.00
Harrison Wright Fund, for Heraldry	1,000.00

A full list of the funds of the Society will be annually published in every volume. The list of Benefactors, which includes the names of all who contribute a fund of not less than \$1,000, now numbers sixteen names. The other ten funds, which are for general purposes, will aggregate \$33,000.

At the quarterly meeting in May, 1909, the By-laws were unanimously amended, requiring all funds given, and accepted, for special purposes, like the "Harrison Wright Fund" for Books on Heraldry; the "Sheldon Reynolds Fund," for Rare Books on American History, etc., and bearing the donor's name, to be separately invested, and the interest semi-annually paid by the Treasurer to the Librarian, to be expended under the direction of the Cabinet Committee, as per By-law 16, and annually accounted for.

To the Coxe Fund, which was \$6,000 in 1909, Mrs. Alexander B. Coxe has added \$4,000, making the Publication Fund \$10,000.

Of the four regular meetings held during the past year, the annual meeting of February 11 was made the occasion of celebrating the centennial of the birth of Charles Darwin, the eminent scientist, who was born February 12. An admirable paper was read by our member, Miss Anne Dorrance, A. B. (Vassar), which elicited great interest, and a hearty vote of thanks. It was referred to the Publishing Committee and will appear in our next volume.

At the quarterly meeting, May 14, a paper by our corresponding member, Granville Henry, Esq., of Bethlehem, was presented, on the "Pennsylvania German and His Personal Characteristics." In the absence of Mr. Henry the paper was kindly read by Rev. Ferdinand von Krug, D. D. It was also referred to the Publishing Committee with thanks.

At the quarterly meeting of December 10, an ethnological paper was read and illustrated with stereopticon views, on "The Aboriginal Occupation of the Wyoming Valley from the Standpoint of Primitive Culture." This paper was unusual, being prepared and read by Mr. Arthur C. Parker, New York State archeologist; a Seneca Indian, whose tribe invaded this valley in 1778, and whose two great-grandfathers had both participated in the Massacre of Wyoming. The speaker and the subject of the lecture were both objects of great interest, so that the audience more than filled the room, and many were compelled to go away. The illustrations were, in part, of objects from the collection of this Society. The paper, with a vote of thanks, was also referred to the Publishing Committee and will appear in Volume XI.

The Society has received during the year many interesting and valuable gifts worthy of mention. Mrs. Louis

Emory, one of our active members, in response to the request of the Librarian in the last annual volume, generously presented to the Society, at the cost of \$122.00, a large and handsome case for the collection of 10,000 Indian relics from the Susquehanna River, given by Mr. Christopher Wren in 19—.

From Col. R. Bruce Ricketts, another member, we have received, among other things, forty bound volumes of "Science," and forty bound volumes of "Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers."

From the estates of the late Charles Edward Butler, and his father, Steuben Butler, the son of Col. Zebulon Butler, we have received the following gifts: A portrait of the late Judge Warren J. Woodward; two spinning wheels that belonged to the family of Col. Butler; six large kitchen utensils of the "long ago"; also forty volumes of books and 125 pamphlets, which have been added to the library. Among these there is a bound volume of the Wyoming Herald, of which Steuben Butler was the founder and editor. It covers the years of 1824 to 1831, when the paper was sold to Asher Miner. Among the pamphlets the most desirable is a clean copy, the only one possessed by the Society, of Abraham Bradley's work, entitled: "A New Theory | of the | Earth | or | the present World created on the | Ruins of an Old World: | Wherein it is Shown from various Phenomena | That the Earth was first Created at a | Period of the Highest Antiquity: | That it was afterwards destroyed by | a Deluge, it was re-peopled by New | Creation | of Men and other Animals. | By Abraham Bradley, Esq., Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. | Printed for Joseph Wright, 1801." The pamphlet is an 8vo. of 63 pages.

Abraham Bradley, Esq., was for years a resident of Wyoming Valley. He was the father of Abraham Bradley, Esq., of the Luzerne County Bar, from 1788 to 1799; Associate Judge of the county 1791 to 1799, when he removed to Washington, D. C., and was Assistant Postmaster General until 1829. His descendants still reside in that city.

The above pamphlet of sixty-three pages was followed by a second and an enlarged edition of 198 pages, 12 mo., printed by Charles Miner, 1808, with a different title, which is to be found noted in Mr. Hayden's Bibliography of the Wyoming Valley, Vol. II, "Proceedings of this Society,"

p. 69. Both titles are now among the treasures of this Society.

From Dr. Frederick C. Johnson we have received a number of pamphlets and the author's copy of "Pearce's Annals of Luzerne County", with Mr. Pearce's corrections prepared for a third edition, which was never issued.

From Mr. Francis A. Phelps a set of the "Phelps Genealogy" in two volumes.

From the librarian, 100 miscellaneous pamphlets.

From Miss Josephine G. Murray, Miss Ellen Butler Murray and Steuben Butler Murray, Jr., of Trenton, N. J., the heirs of Col. Zebulon Butler, we have received the valuable gift of Col. Butler's camp bed, used by him, according to family tradition, while in the field during the "French and Indian War", as well as in the "Revolutionary War", 1763 to 1783. It is made of a strong flax "sacking bottom", stretched on a folding frame of a kind used in those days. It has been hung in a conspicuous place on the wall of the archaeological room and well marked.

From the County Commissioners we have received the pewter box which was placed in the cornerstone of the Luzerne county court house in 1856, with its contents, a list of which was published in the Wilkes-Barre Record of December 28, 1909.

From Miss Martha Maffet and Mrs. Horace See, we have received the gift of a crayon portrait of Gen. William Ross, a survivor of the massacre. It is a copy of the oil portrait by Jacob Eicholst, 1815, now in Miss Maffet's possession. This gives us the portrait of seven of the early settlers of Wyoming from 1769 to 1780, a most valuable historical collection, which shows the very strong character of the men and women who braved the dangers of a pioneer section to dwell in and cultivate this magnificent valley of Wyoming.

From the estate of our late President, Hon. Stanley Woodward, we have received sixty volumes, of which thirty have been added to the library. Our late life member, Mr. George Slocum Bennett, whose death at the Christmas tide was a great loss to the city, left to the Society by his will, a most valuable and desirable legacy, i. e., the large oil portrait, by George Winter, of Frances Slocum, "The Lost Sister" and "the romance of Wyoming History;" also the oil painting of her home in Indiana, portraits of her two daughters, a pair of her moccasins, and the manuscript of the diary of Miss Harriet E. Slocum, kept in 1839, when she

visited her aunt Frances. These relics will be conspicuously placed and will form most attractive objects in the Society.

From Mr. Harry W. Townsend, of Plymouth, we have received the gift of 230 Indian relics, mainly from Plymouth and its neighborhood, some of which are fine and rare.

One of the most valuable gifts made to the Society is yet to be mentioned. In April, 1909, the Society received from the hands of Arthur Hillman, Esq., as executor of the estate of Dr. Harrison Wright, M. A., Ph. D., our most highly valued and versatile secretary, to whose energy, enthusiasm, distinguished ability, and devoted interest, the Society owes a debt that cannot be estimated, a rare volume prepared by Dr. Wright by years of labor, and entitled, "Patriots of Wyoming". It is a quarto scrap book, containing eighty-five autographs of eighty-five patriots of Wyoming of July 3, 1778, slain and survived, beginning with Col. Zebulon Butler and ending with one who was not a patriot, Col. John Butler, leader of the Tories and Indians in that day. This valuable historical work was presented to this Society by the sisters of Dr. Wright—Mrs. Josephine W. Hillman, Mrs. George W. Guthrie, and the heirs of Mrs. Harrison Wright, Sr.

During the year the corresponding secretary has written with his own pen 600 letters, copies of which are preserved, beside acknowledging all gifts and books, sending out Volume X, and expressing books sold. The express packages sent out since the last annual meeting were 200, against sixty of 1908. We have exchanged with 100 societies, receiving in return 200 titles. The Society has received 900 books and 2,762 pamphlets, from the following sources:

	Books.	Pamphlets.
United States	442	2,000

On page 24, last line, for Miss Harriet E. Slocum, read Mrs. Hannah Slocum Bennett.

900	2,762
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Of these books and pamphlets fully one-half have been added to the library.

The membership of the Society has been increased by six.

In 1909 we had, life members, 178; annual members, 198; total, 376. The present membership is 384; annual, 184; life, 200.

p. 69. Both titles are now among the treasures of this Society.

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... death at the Christmas tide
 was a great loss to the city, left to the Society by his will, a most valuable and desirable legacy, i. e., the large oil portrait, by George Winter, of Frances Slocum, "The Lost Sister" and "the romance of Wyoming History;" also the oil painting of her home in Indiana, portraits of her two daughters, a pair of her moccasins, and the manuscript of the diary of Miss Harriet E. Slocum, kept in 1839, when she

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	Books.	Pamphlets.
United States	443	2,000
Pennsylvania	30	30
Exchange	120	82
Purchase	50	—
Gift	257	650
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	900	2,762

Of these books and pamphlets fully one-half have been added to the library.

The membership of the Society has been increased by six.

In 1909 we had, life members, 178; annual members, 198; total, 376. The present membership is 384; annual, 184; life, 200.

From the annual list of members, 1909.....	198
Deduct those	
Lost by death	7
By transfer to life list	7
By resignation	4
	<hr/> 18
Total	180
Elected	6
	<hr/>
Total	186
To the life member list, 1909	178
There have been added	20
	<hr/>
Total	384

Since February 11, 1909, we have lost by death the following members, obituary notices of whom will appear in later issues of the annual volume: Mr. Samuel H. Lynch, Mr. John Laning, Mrs. Maud Baldwin Raub, Col. George Nicholas Reichard, Mrs. Stella Mercer Shoemaker Ricketts, Mr. George Shoemaker, Mrs. Augusta Dorrance Farnham, annual members; Mr. George Slocum Bennett, life member and Benefactor; Hon. Charles Dorrance Foster, life member; Mr. Horace See, of New York City, corresponding member.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

**Report of the Curator of Archaeology for the Year ending
February 11, 1910.**

PLYMOUTH, PENN'A, February 11, 1910.

*To the Officers and Members of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a:*

In making my report of the Archeological Department of the Society for the year 1909, I would say:

The year just closed has been one in which the department has been reasonably active, and there has been distinct progress both in the way of accessions to the Society's collections and the notice they have received in archeological circles throughout the country. It is coming to be generally appreciated that the Society has one of the most numerous and complete collections of the Algonquins of the

northern Appalachian region to be found anywhere. It is consequently the source to which students of those people will come for study of the eastern Algonquin. Especially is the collection of Algonquin pottery among the finest in the country. Mr. Arthur C. Parker, in a visit to the rooms during the year, reiterated the opinion of Mr. Stewart Culin, expressed several years ago, that our collection of Algonquin pottery is the most numerous of which he has any knowledge.

Perhaps the most notable happening in this department during the year was the visit of Mr. Arthur C. Parker, of Albany, New York, State archeologist, who read a paper before the Society on December 10, 1909, on "Aboriginal Occupation of Wyoming Valley from the Viewpoint of Primitive Culture," using the collections of our Society and his knowledge of the Iroquois country of New York in his study of the subject.

The Society received the following accessions to its collections during the year which are worthy of special mention:

Mrs. Louis Emory, of Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a, has very generously provided a large new case to contain the Wren collection, which has been installed in it.

One complete steatite bowl from Virginia.

A number of local stone implements and an Indian bow and four arrows, from Mr. Benjamin Tubbs, of Kingston, Penn'a.

Two hundred and fifty specimens, principally from Plymouth and vicinity, including four copper beads and two bone needles, from Harry W. Townsend, of Scranton, Penn'a.

Five large blades, being part of a *cache* of eighty-four specimens found by Mr. Charles Brighthaupt, near Drums, Penn'a, in October, 1909.

The Society has loaned its half-tone of large notched net sinkers, peculiar to the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, first illustrated in Volume VIII of "Proceedings and Collections", to Prof. Warren K. Moorehead, of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., for use in his new work on the "Stone Age", which will be issued early next summer.

We hope that the department will continue to grow in size and importance, as it will surely do, if it continues to receive new accessions in the manner it has during a number of years past.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Curator of Archeology.

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

January 1, 1908, to January 1, 1909.

Cash balance, January 1, 1908.....	\$ 540.56
Dues of members	895.00
Income from investments	1,403.81
Commissioners of Luzerne county	200.00
Fell memorial medals	332.00
Subscriptions to investment funds	9,500.00
Interest on savings account	43.69
Life memberships	3,080.00
Total	\$15,995.06

PAYMENTS.

Salaries	\$ 1,699.24
Incidentals	70.00
Telephone	30.00
Insurance	50.00
Books	100.00
Binding account	150.00
Printing account	200.00
Fell memorial medals	300.00
Expenses of semi-centennial	50.00
Address at semi-centennial	50.00
Sundry expenses	110.05
Interest on special funds	418.00
Amount invested	10,135.00
Cash balance January 1, 1909	2,632.77
Total	\$15,995.06

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER, JANUARY 1, 1909.

BONDS.

2 bonds Westmoreland Club, 3 per cent.	\$ 200.00
6 bonds Plymouth Bridge Co., 5 per cent.	6,000.00
8 bonds Spring Brook Water Supply Co., 5 per cent.	8,000.00
5 bonds Webster Coal & Coke Co., 5 per cent.	5,000.00
3 bonds Miner-Hillard Milling Co., 5 per cent.	1,500.00
1 bond People's Telephone Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
1 bond United Gas & Electric Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
6 bonds Wilkes-Barre Water Co., 5 per cent.	3,000.00
2 bonds Sheldon Axle Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
1 bond Frontier Telephone Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
5 bonds Scranton Gas & Water Co., 5 per cent.	5,000.00

MORTGAGES.

3 mortgages, 6 per cent.	2,900.00
Total	\$35,600.00..

CHARLES W. BIXBY,
Treasurer.

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

From January 1, 1909, to January 1, 1910.

Cash balance, January 1, 1909	\$ 2,632.77
Membership dues	930.00
Income from investments	1,902.51
Investments paid	2,900.00
Subscriptions to endowment funds	5,500.00
Interest on savings account	28.43
Life memberships	920.00
From County Commissioners	200.00

Total\$15,013.71

PAYMENTS.

Amount invested	\$10,500.00
Salaries	1,816.00
Incidentals	122.74
Telephone	30.00
Insurance	50.00
Interest on special funds	600.50
Books	50.00
Binding account	50.00
Sundry expenses	125.82
Printing	108.28
Address	25.00
Balance in bank, January 1, 1910	1,535.27

Total\$15,013.71

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER JANUARY 1, 1910.

BONDS.

Wilkes-Barre Water Co., 5 per cent.	\$ 3,000.00
People's Telephone Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
Frontier Telephone Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
Scranton Gas & Water Co., 5 per cent.	5,000.00
Muncie and Union City Traction Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
United Gas & Electric Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
Webster Coal & Coke Co., 5 per cent.	4,000.00
Spring Brook Water Supply Co., 5 per cent.	8,000.00
Plymouth Bridge Co., 5 per cent.	6,000.00
Westmoreland Club, 3 per cent.	200.00
Sheldon Axle Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00
Columbia Power, Light & Railways Co., 5 per cent.	1,000.00

Total bonds\$32,200.00

MORTGAGES.

Zabrisky (Orotz), 6 per cent.	\$ 500.00
Gorewicz, 6 per cent.	1,200.00
Masters (Pemberton), 6 per cent.	800.00
Kamor, 6 per cent.	2,300.00
Corbett, 6 per cent.	500.00
Finney, 6 per cent.	1,000.00
Raub, 6 per cent.	900.00
Barrett, 5½ per cent.	4,800.00

Total mortgages\$12,000.00

Grand total of investments\$44,200.00

Respectfully

CHARLES W. BIXBY,
Treasurer.

Funds Participating in the Income and Investments.

1. Colonel Zebulon Butler Fund, Ethnology	\$ 1,000.00
2. Coxie Family Publication Fund	10,000.00
3. Horace E. Hayden Fund, Geological Lectures.....	1,500.00
4. Colonel Matthias Hollenback Fund, General	2,000.00
5. Andrew Hunlock Fund, Binding	1,000.00
6. Dr. Charles F. Ingham Fund, Geology	557.50
(Minimum \$1,000.)	
7. Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund, General	256.88
(Minimum \$1,000.)	
8. Fred Morgan Kirby Fund, General	1,000.00
9. Ralph D. Lacoe Fund, Paleozoology	1,000.00
10. Augustus C. Laning Fund, Historical Lectures	1,000.00
11. Abram Nesbitt Fund, General	1,000.00
12. Sheldon Reynolds Fund, American History	1,000.00
13. Captain L. Denison Stearns Fund, General	1,000.00
14. Dr. Lewis H. Taylor Fund, General	1,000.00
15. Edward Welles Fund, General	1,000.00
16. Hon. Stanley Woodward Fund, Historical Lectures..	602.50
(Minimum \$1,000.)*	
17. Dr. Harrison Wright Fund, Heraldry	1,000.00
18. Life Membership Fund	20,000.00
19. General Fund	4,300.00
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	\$50,216.88

Nos. 6 and 16 will be completed by the sale of the Society's Publications, and No. 7 by sale of Johnson's "Historical Record of Wyoming."

While these pages are going through the press the following additional funds have been secured:

20. Hon. Charles Abbott Miner Fund	\$ 1,000.00
21. George Slocum Bennett Fund.....	1,000.00
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
Total	\$52,216.88



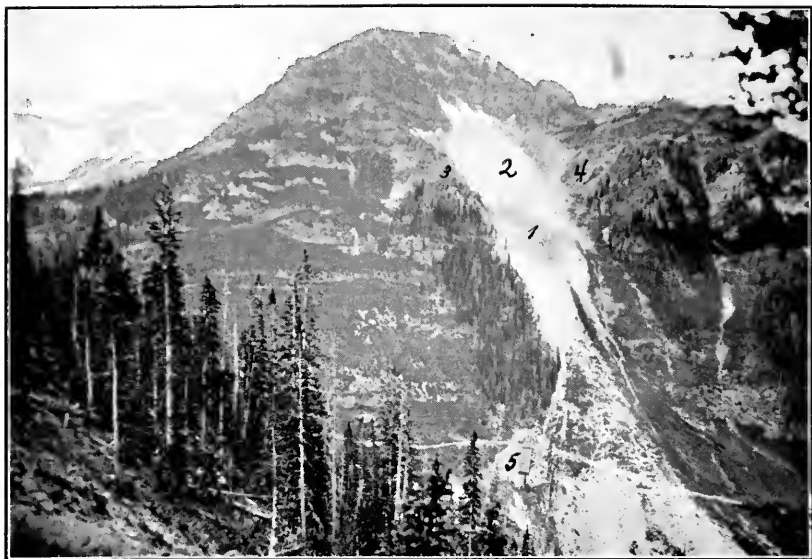


Figure 1. Cliff Glacier Cirque on Camp Bird Mountain.

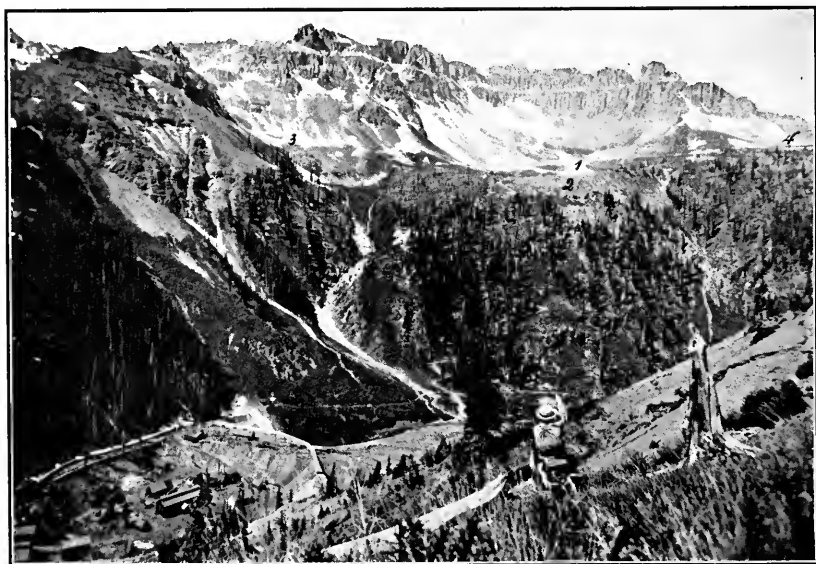


Figure 2. Revenue Mountain Glacier Cirques.

GLACIAL EROSION IN THE SAN JUAN MOUNTAINS, COLORADO.

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS CRAMER HOPKINS, PH. D.,
of Syracuse University, N. Y.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 8, 1909.

(HAYDEN GEOLOGICAL LECTURE FUND.)

ICE EROSION THEORY NOT A FALLACY.

Glaciers are active agents of erosion of the rock surface over which they pass. There is some difference of opinion on this subject. Some persons would deny the statement. A prominent glaciologist of this country recently published a paper on "*Ice Erosion Theory a Fallacy*," in which the statement is made that "to-day most students of living glaciers and glacial work deny that glaciers possess great erosive powers".*

The author referred to gives some data in support of the last part of the quotation but very little in support of the first. So far as the work of the ice is concerned it makes no difference whether the present writer is in the majority or minority, as the glaciers are not influenced one way or another by human belief, and it is a reasonable assumption to think that the same thing was true ages ago when possibly the men of that time took much less interest in the movement and work of glaciers than they do to-day.

The writer of this paper while differing from the author referred to in this one particular, has great respect for him and his conclusions, based, as they are, on many years of study and active work. The object of this paper is not to debate the question, but to present some features of glacial work in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado, as additional data to that already available, from which the reader can

*"Ice Erosion Theory a Fallacy," by H. L. Fairchild. Bulletin of the Geological Society of America. Vol. 16, pp. 13-74, 1905.

draw his own conclusion. It may not be amiss to state that the writer was a firm believer in the glacier as a powerful agent of erosion before he visited the San Juan Mountains.

One reason why these observations are given to the American readers under this heading, is that the region shows so many and marked evidences of glacial work which are as well preserved as if they were produced but yesterday. In some respects it is a connecting link between the extensive glaciated areas of North America and Europe from which the glacier disappeared thousands of years ago, and hence the deposits and markings have been modified to some extent by the weathering agencies, and the Alpine glaciers of the present day where the cirques and the upper valleys are still occupied by snow and ice. In the San Juan Mountains the work of the glaciers is so recent and the markings so well preserved that one actually sees what he imagines is taking place underneath the living Alpine glaciers.

Periods of Glaciation. It is quite probable that there have been two, possibly three, periods of glaciation in this region. The larger and longer glaciers which mark the earliest period were not greatly different in size from the glaciers of the Swiss Alps to-day. The smaller glaciers of the San Juan region may have been but the lingering remnants of the waning first glaciers, or the first glaciers may have entirely disappeared before another period began. That phase of the problem is not considered in this paper, as it does not affect the burden of the thesis to any marked degree.

Cliff Glaciers. The last glaciers to occupy the region were cliff glaciers that occupied cirques on the steep mountainsides, and whether any or all of them were in existence during the time the larger glaciers occupied the upper fifteen or twenty miles of the larger valleys does not effect the amount of erosion work done by them, as the object of this paper is to show that they did erode, not when the erosion was done.



Figure 3. Pierson Basin Glacier Cirque. Upper End.

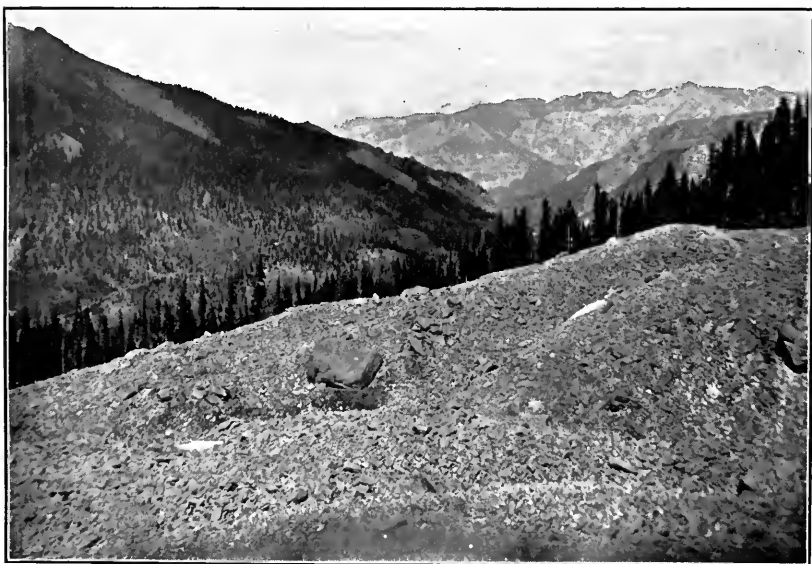
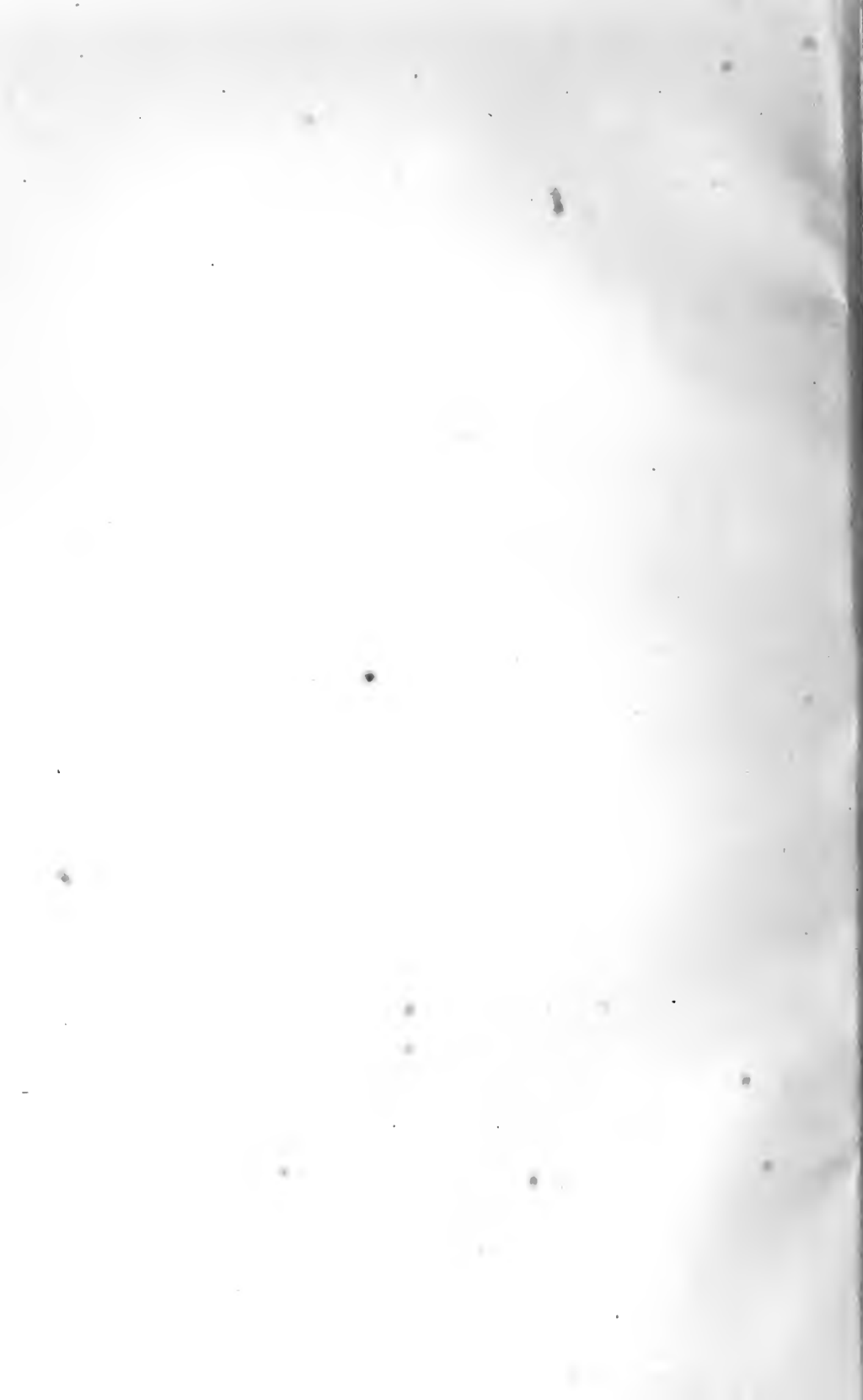


Figure 4. Pierson Basin Moraine. Lower End.



The work of the larger glaciers will be considered, but emphasis will be laid on that of the cliff glaciers because the results are less obscure.

Camp Bird Basin. Figure 1 is a photograph which shows some of the results accomplished by one of the smaller cliff glaciers. It is on the mountain side south of the Camp Bird Mill and was taken from near the base of the opposite hill, hence the bottom of the cirque does not appear in the view. The cirque which lies immediately above (1) is partly filled by the talus (2) which has been formed there by the weathering agencies acting on the surrounding cliffs since the disappearance of the glacier. It may be noticed that between the ridge (3) and the slope (4) there is a considerable basin that is only partly filled by the talus (2). The bottom of the slope (2) does not extend as far as the ridge (1) which is the terminal moraine of the cliff glacier that formed the cirque. The great alluvial cone below (1) is formed of the material carried down by gravity from the moraine (1). That is, it was all worn from the mountain side between (3) and (4) by the snow and ice which carried it out to (1) where by the melting of the ice and possibly the breaking off of portions of it the material was deposited or tumbled down the mountain side, building the great cone. Some idea of the dimensions of the cone can be obtained by comparing it with the wagon road across the middle of it and the large building at (5) which is a mill for working the ores taken from the mountain. The fragmental material at the left of the mill is the waste material from the mine.

The above is only one of numerous cliff glaciers that formed cirques in this region. Many are larger and some are smaller than the one described. It differs from most of the others in having the large cone below the moraine, indicating that the cliff glacier was in existence after the melting of the larger glacier in the valley at the base of the mountain, otherwise the talus cone would have been carried away by the valley glacier.

On Revenue Mountain. In figure 2 a view of Revenue Mountain, taken from Mt. Potosi, portions of several cliff cirques are partly shown. At the extreme right at (4) the top of one is visible, the bottom is concealed by the mountain. Near the middle of the upper half at (1) is a cirque a great many times larger than the one in figure 1. A morainal ridge appears at (2) at the outer edge of the cirque. The greater part of the material carried out of the cirque was carried away by the valley glacier at the foot of the mountain. Considerable talus has accumulated around the inner edge of the cirque since the glacier disappeared. There is a much smaller cirque at (3) and the top of a much larger one appears at the extreme left of the view and is separated from (3) by a very narrow sharp-crested ridge.

Pierson Basin. Figures 3 and 4 are two views in Pierson Basin, one of the cliff glacier cirques of a still different character. Both views are taken from near the same spot on the side of the cirque near the bottom. Figure 3 is a view looking towards the source of the glacier and shows nearly all of the surrounding wall bounding the basin. All the broken rock at the middle and left of the picture is morainal material that has been carried forward from the cliff by the ice.

Figure 4 is a view looking in the opposite direction from that in figure 3 and shows the lower end of the moraine. This terminates in a steep slope, as steep as the fragmental material will lie. It is evident that all this mass of material, some 200 feet thick in places, has been moved forward by the ice and not by gravity alone, since between the moraine material and the bordering mountain side is a depression (occupied by snow in figure 3) not yet filled by talus from the bordering cliffs. The trace of glacial milk in the stream flowing from the lower end of this moraine would suggest the possibility of this glacier not being entirely extinct.

Silver Lake Basin. Silver Lake Basin lies directly west of the Pierson Basin just described and separated from it



Figure 5. Lower Lake in Silver Basin.



Figure 6. Upper Lake, behind second Moraine in Silver Basin.



by an exceedingly steep, narrow ridge. The basin is a quarter to a half mile wide and a little more than a mile long. It is one of the large cirques of the cliff glaciers, if it can be properly so called. During part of its history it was connected with the main valley glacier and formed one of its smaller tributaries. After the waning of the valley glacier the ice remained in the Silver Basin for a considerable period and formed two rather prominent terminal moraines during its recession. There is a small lake in the depression behind each of these moraines.

Figure 5 is a view from the lower moraine looking towards the head of the cirque across the lower lake in the immediate foreground. The dark ridge near the middle of the picture is the second moraine behind which is another small lake. A near view of this second moraine and lake is shown in figure 6. In the middle, left of the picture, is another huge mass of morainal material similar to that shown in the Pierson Basin.

All or nearly all the material that was carried from the mountain to form this great basin was taken away by the valley glacier. That it was not carried out by the water is shown by the surface over which the present stream from the basin is flowing. It runs down the steep mountain in a series of cascades to the creek more than 1,000 feet below the edge of the cirque. If the water had carried the rock material from the basin it would have worn its channelway down into a deep narrow valley. The material was taken out before or during the time that the large glacier occurred in the main valley, otherwise the bulk of the material would be on the mountain side in a huge alluvial cone, as in figure 7.

The morainal ridges and the mass at the head of the cirque were formed by the glacier during its final stages when it occupied only a portion of the basin. Talus material due to weathering occurs in many places on the rock terraces of the bordering mountainside.

The photographs in all the different views were taken

during the last week in July. Part of the snow in the views has fallen during the month and part of it is the residue from the preceeding winter. The winter snow melts before the end of summer, yet the mountains are seldom free from snow long at a time owing to the numerous snow showers during the summer.

Figure 7 shows nearly the entire moraine at the head of the Camp Bird cirque in a basin larger than any of the preceeding. The fresh appearance of the rock in this moraine is in strong contrast to the weathered and soil-covered slopes on either side. It is probable that this moraine along with the upper one in figure 6 and those in figures 3 and 4 were formed by a revival of the glaciers much more recent than the time of the larger ones which formed the valleys.

The above are only a few of the scores of cirques or snow basins that occur in the San Juan Mountains. (See Silverton Telluride and Ouray Folios of the United States Geological atlas, in which the cirques may be located by the contour lines.) Some of these never contained other than cliff glaciers, while from others glacial streams extended for many miles down the larger valleys. The glaciers from Silver and Pierson basins at one time united and probably joined the larger glacier that flowed down Canyon Creek, which was joined a mile below by a still larger tributary from the Camp Bird Basin.

The relations of some of the snow basins described are better shown in figure 8 than in any of the preceeding views. (1) is the Camp Bird Valley (see figure 9); (2) is the Pierson Basin, the bottom of which is covered with the moraine shown in figures 3 and 4; (3) is the Silver Basin, shown in figures 5 and 6, the lakes and the greater part of the basin being concealed behind the ridge in the foreground; (4) is the basin marked (1) in figure 2; (5) is the place where the Pierson and Silver glaciers joined and probably is near or just above the point where the two combined joined the larger one, which moved down the main valley from right to



Figure 8. View from Mt. Potosi, showing the Glacier Cirques on Revenue Mountain.



Figure 9. Upper end of Camp Bird Valley.



left in the foreground of the picture. The photograph was taken from a point on the opposite mountain (Mt. Potosi) nearly 2,000 feet above the valley. The buildings at (6) are in the valley and hence nearly 2,000 feet below the camera.

On Canyon Creek near Sneffels. It is along Canyon Creek and the lower end of the tributary glaciers that direct evidence may be seen of the wearing action of the ice. Figure 9 is a view of the upper end of the Camp Bird Valley, showing some of the higher cirques at the head and the broad U-shaped valley below. The white streak to the left of the center of the view is the stream which now drains the basin. It has a fairly direct course, numerous falls, no flood plain and most of the way flowing over the bare rocks. It descends about 1,500 feet in two miles. The improbability of this stream having cut down this valley to its present shape and size is at once apparent. Not only is the glacier the manifest agent that formed a large part of the valley, but the grooved, striated, and rounded rock surface is further evidence of the fact, if any were needed.

Figure 10 is a view from the side of Mt. Potosi, at an elevation of about 1,000 feet above the creek, looking down Canyon Creek. Several cirques are visible on Hayden Mountain in the background. The streaks down the mountainside, through the forests, are the paths of snow-slides or avalanches. Canyon Creek is visible for a short distance near the lower right hand corner, between the two roadways. It soon disappears into the head of a deep, narrow gorge, which extends to the middle of the view, where it is joined by the stream from the Camp Bird Basin. This canyon, which is several hundred feet deep, was undoubtedly cut by the stream during and since the time the glacier was in the valley. The remainder of the valley, excepting the canyon, is thought to have been eroded largely by the ice. The surface of the bottom is mostly bare rock, with the peculiar rounding irregularities, the grooves and striae characteristic of ice work.

The configuration of the valley surface is better seen in figure 11, in which the camera was in the bottom of the valley instead of a thousand feet above it, as in figure 10. The bottom of the valley is about a quarter of a mile in width at this place.

More details of the surface are shown in figure 12, taken near the same point as figure 11. The glacial groovings and smooth rounded ice-worn surfaces are here clearly shown. These views are not on the bordering cliffs, as might be suspected, but are on the inequalities in the floor of the valley. The surface has been slightly disintegrated by the weather since glaciation, but it has not been water worn. The stream is several hundred feet lower in a canyon at the left.

Figure 13 is a view taken from the top of the ice-worn bluff at the junction of Canyon Creek and the Camp Bird tributary, looking down the valley. The bench on the top of the cliffs on either side is the continuation of the ice-worn rock floor shown in figures 10 and 12. The V-shaped depression of the bottom of the valley was probably formed in part by the erosion of the water, yet the shape of it, its relation to the upper valley, and especially the terminal moraine, a few miles down the valley, are very suggestive of considerable ice erosion even here.

Figure 14 is a view looking up the valley from near the same point as that from which the last view was taken. The wooded hill on the left cuts off the view of the bottom and one side of the valley, making it appear narrower than it really is. The mountain peak (1) in the middle, known as Stony Mountain, is ice-worn on all sides, and hence must have been a nunatak or rock island in the glacial sea during at least part of the period. It is possible that during the last stages it formed the crowning point on the dividing ridge between two basins.

There is no evidence that the mountain on the right, Mt. Potosi, has ever had a glacier on it. The only apparent reason for the absence of even the cliff glaciers from this



Figure 10. Canyon Creek and Hayden Mountain seen from Mt. Potosi.
The streaks on the mountain side are the paths of snowslides through the forest.



Figure 11. Nearer view of Canyon Creek and Hayden Mountain.

mountain side is that it is a south slope and the greater per cent. of sunshine was sufficient to melt the snows. At the present time the snow disappears from this mountain some weeks before it does from the opposite mountain, on which occurs the numerous cirques described on the preceeding pages.

Figure 15 is taken from the side of Mt. Potosi, looking southwest across Stony Mountain. This north-facing mountain is scarred with many snow basins, while there are none on Mt. Potosi. It is noticeable, also, that the snow basins are at three different levels. The lowest one (No. 3) is about 1,000 feet above the bottom of the main valley, into which the little stream flowing from three now empties. While water may have been an important agent in carrying away the material between (3) and the main valley, it seems more likely that snow and ice, which must have formed cirques at (3), (2) and (1), were the chief agents also in wearing the lower valley. The amount of material eroded from the head of Canyon Creek Valley would form a wedge-shaped mass varying from 2,000 feet to 5,000 feet deep in the middle, from two to three miles wide and many miles in length. The insignificant amount of work done by running water since the disappearance of the glacier and the numerous distinct markings of glacial wear, along with the numerous cirques and the shapes of the valleys, leads to the conclusion that a large part of the erosion in the area was done by snow and ice, and the glaciers have been much more active agents than the running water.

The evidence regarding the extent of erosion in the valleys here before the beginning of glaciation is not very definite so far as the main valley is concerned, but in the cirques the evidence is in favor of all the erosion having been done by ice and snow, except so far as it was aided by weathering agencies. The grade, the rock bottom, and the shape of the tributary valleys all indicate that most, if not

all, of the erosion in such valleys was by ice rather than by water.

Moraines. As already explained, there are extensive moraines in the cirques about the head of Canyon Creek valley. Some of them, as shown in figures 3, 4 and 7, are nearly continuous masses of debris, while others, as figures 2, 5 and 6, form ridges, typical terminal moraines, near the starting point of the glacier. Those of the first class, extending from the surrounding cliff into and sometimes nearly through the cirque, the writer believes to have been formed much more recently than the others and during a much shorter interval. The reasons for thinking so are, (1) the difference in the material, which shows little evidence of weathering and is free from vegetation, while the other moraines are covered with soil and vegetation, and (2) they are continuous from the cliff to the end of the moraine and lack the grass or forest-covered areas separating the older moraines.

Those of the first class are designated "Rock Streams" in the United States Geologic Atlas and are supposed to be due in part to landslides and talus from the surrounding cliffs, part of which has rolled down over the snowdrifts at the base of the cliff, and part in some of the streams having been carried forward by the ice. There is no doubt but that much of the material in these rock stream moraines has fallen from the bordering cliffs, and this is sometimes also cited as evidence that the action of weather and gravity are the active agents which form the cirques, while the snow and ice of the glaciers simply serve as carriers to remove the debris. But there will be no crumbling from the top unless there is erosion at the base, and, likewise, the erosion at the base must more than equal the crumbling from the top, or the basin would never be formed, and if formed, would fill up and the landslides would cease.

The largest one of the valley moraines is about two miles south of Ouray, at the upper end of Box Canyon. The



Figure 12. Glacial Grooves and Roche Moutonnees in Canyon Creek Canyon.



Figure 13. Canyon Creek—view down the valley from Camp Bird Mill.



mass of the moraine forms a great dam across the valley. The stream has cut a narrow channel-way through the morainal hill, which rises abruptly from the creek banks to a hundred feet or more in height. The material in this moraine appears to consist almost entirely of the broken and ground-up remains of red sandstone similar to that on the neighboring hillside underlying the volcanic rocks.

Figure 16 shows a view of a portion of the moraine above mentioned. This portion of it consists mostly of fine material with occasional angular boulders. In other portions of the same moraine the large boulders form the bulk of the deposit. Some of the boulders are quite large, as much as fifteen to twenty feet in diameter. The indiscriminate mixture of coarse and fine material proves the glacial origin of this material, or, more properly, proves its non-fluvial origin, as it shows no lamination or sorting by water. Part of this mass of material may be due to landslides, but even so it would still be true that the landslides, if there were such, would be caused by the glacier eroding the base of the bordering mountain side, since there has been no shifting of the stream channel on its rock bed to undermine the bordering cliffs.

The query arises, why are there not more of these valley moraines? The same question may be asked in almost any glacial valley. The answer is, that where the melting of the glacier is regular and continuous, or nearly so, no morainal hill will be formed. It is only where the end of the glacier remains at or near the same point for a long time that the moraine becomes conspicuous.

Since the glacier extended at one time some ten miles further down the valley, and formed a terminal moraine near the village of Ridgeway, the moraine above mentioned, just south of Ouray, must be either a terminal moraine of recession or the terminal moraine of a subsequent glacier. The latter is thought to be true by the writer, although the evidence is not very conclusive.

The Amphitheatre. Around the town of Ouray there has been deep erosion in both the overlying volcanic rocks and the underlying sedimentary series. The Amphitheatre lying on the southeast side of the town is larger and deeper than many of those illustrated above. It is a large glacial cirque, but not that of a cliff glacier, as were most of the ones above mentioned. It was a tributary to the large Alpine glacier that formerly occupied the Uncompaghere Valley. It joined the main glacier at the confluence of the Canyon Creek and Uncompaghere Creek branches at Ouray. There is a very abrupt change in the grade of the valley floor at Ouray, and the city is built at the head of the low or flood-plain portion of the valley at the foot of the glacial falls. There is an abrupt ascent in the valley floor of about 800 feet at the city and a continuous steep grade on southward in both creek valleys. The creeks in both valleys have cut deep canyons in the upper valley floor in the attempt to grade the course from the upper to the lower level.

The floor of the Amphitheatre is at and above the upper level or 800 feet or more above Ouray. How much of the lower valley below the confluence was worn by ice and how much by water is problematical. There can be little question that on the upper level, at and near the confluence, the ice has done a great deal of erosion, as indicated by the width of the valley above the walls of the narrow creek canyons, and the rounded, ice-worn character of the rock surface on the upper level.

Almost all of the material was carried out of the Amphitheatre by the ice and a considerable portion of it was worn from the solid rock. The floor of the Amphitheatre is now covered with a huge mass of debris from landslides and it is possible that there have been many landslides in its past history. But there must first be a depression into which the land could slide, and if the material of the earlier slides had not been removed the depression would have been filled up and no longer in existence. Ice and snow were the agents that



Figure 14. Stony Mountain and Canyon Creek Valley.



Figure 15. View from Mt. Potosi, showing Snow Basins at different levels.



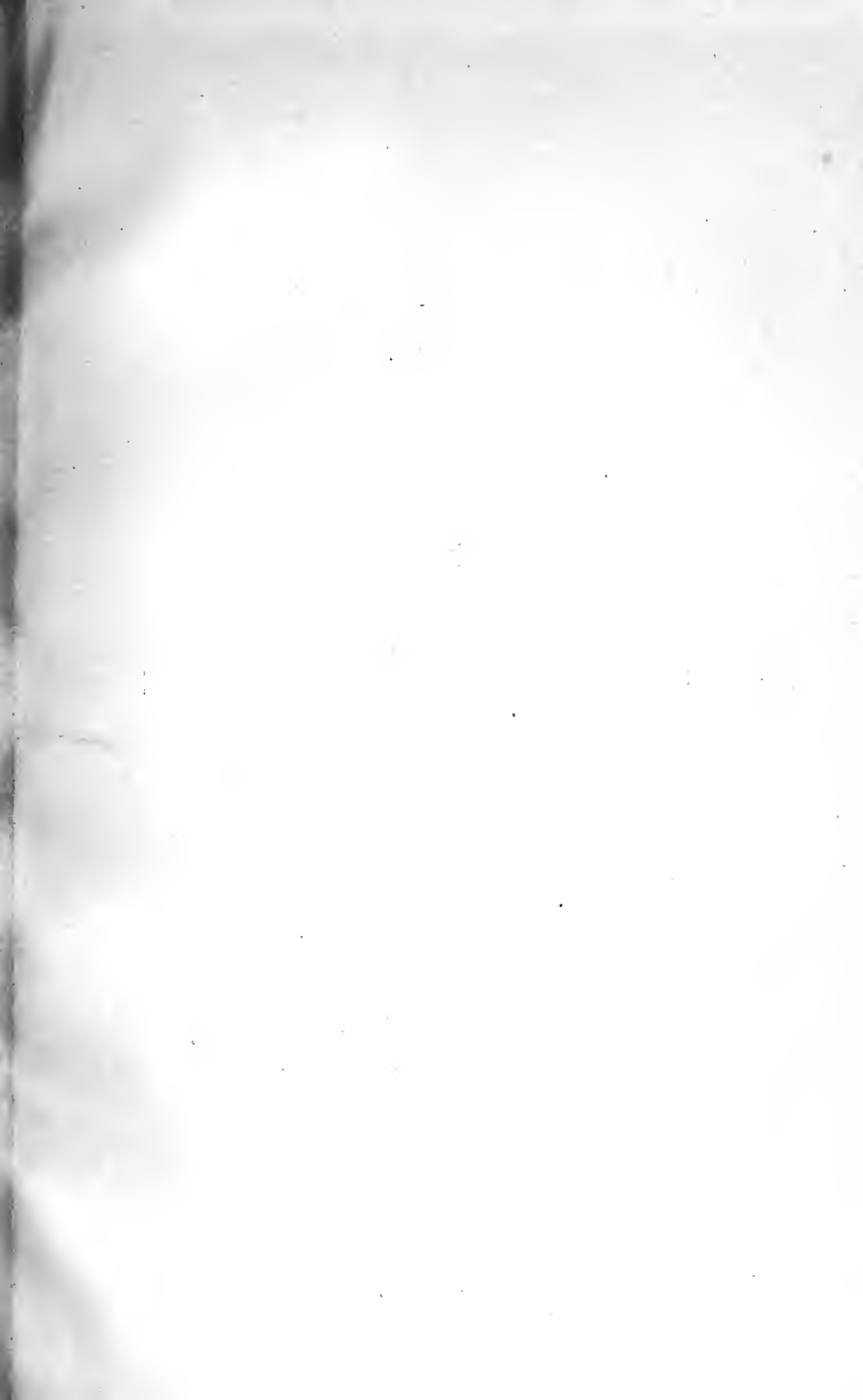




Figure 16. Box Canyon Moraine, where it is cut through by Sneffels Creek.



Figure 17. View in Box Canyon, near Ouray.

wore away the bottom and sides of the great basin and carried away the masses of rock that fell from the surrounding mountain sides. The last great rock fall that tumbled into the basin since the glacier disappeared remains, covering the floor of the cirque because there is no glacier to remove it.

Unless there is another glacier formed in the Amphitheatre before that time, the material will continue to accumulate on the floor of the basin until the slope is more or less regular from the top of the mountain to the outer edge of the Amphitheatre basin. Thus the occurrence of such amphitheatres or basins in the mountains is evidence in itself of great erosive work by the glaciers.

The Box Canyon at Ouray on Canyon Creek and the deep rock canyon of the Uncompaghre at its junction with Canyon Creek were cut by the respective streams underneath the glacier and since the melting of the ice. Box Canyon corresponds in depth and appearance to the canyon in which the stream is now flowing at the end of the lower Grindewald glacier in the Alps, and if one could go directly from that glacier to Box Canyon, his first impulse would be to get to the top of the canyon and see if the glacier was there as in the Swiss locality. The accompanying view (figure 17) in Box Canyon shows only a portion of it. The bridge is about sixty feet above the bottom and several hundred feet below the top of the canyon.

It was in the comparison of the narrowness and great depth of these canyons with that of the relatively greater dimensions of the ice-worn valleys on top of the canyons that the writer was most impressed with the great amount of ice work done in these mountains. This is true as well of the great rock canyon on Canyon Creek, between the Camp Bird and the Revenue Mills, which is a stream-cut rock ditch in the ice-worn floor of the great ice-carved valley on top of the canyon walls.

The contour map sheets of other portions of the Rocky Mountain area in Colorado and Montana, indicate by the

numerous cirques and mountain lakes erosion by the glaciers of the past on an even greater scale than that described in a portion of the San Juan Mountains.

On an even larger scale is this erosion shown in the Uinta and Wasatch mountains in the photographs and maps in the recently published Professional Paper, No. 61, of the United States Geological Survey. These areas show larger snow basins and wider valleys with ice-worn floors than in the San Juan Mountains.

Some of the evidence of extensive erosion by glaciers in the glaciated area of the northern United States is, (1) the presence of numerous hanging valleys tributary to the wide U-shaped valleys scoured out by the ice; (2) the numerous fresh, rounded, sheep-back surfaces over the areas of crystalline rocks; (3) numerous lakes in rock depressions which are not satisfactorily explained by any other agency than erosion by the glacier; (4) the vast deposits of ground-up fresh rock in the blue and red boulder days of the glaciated area.

The evidence both east and west is sufficient to convince the writer that erosion by glaciers is a fact and not a fallacy.

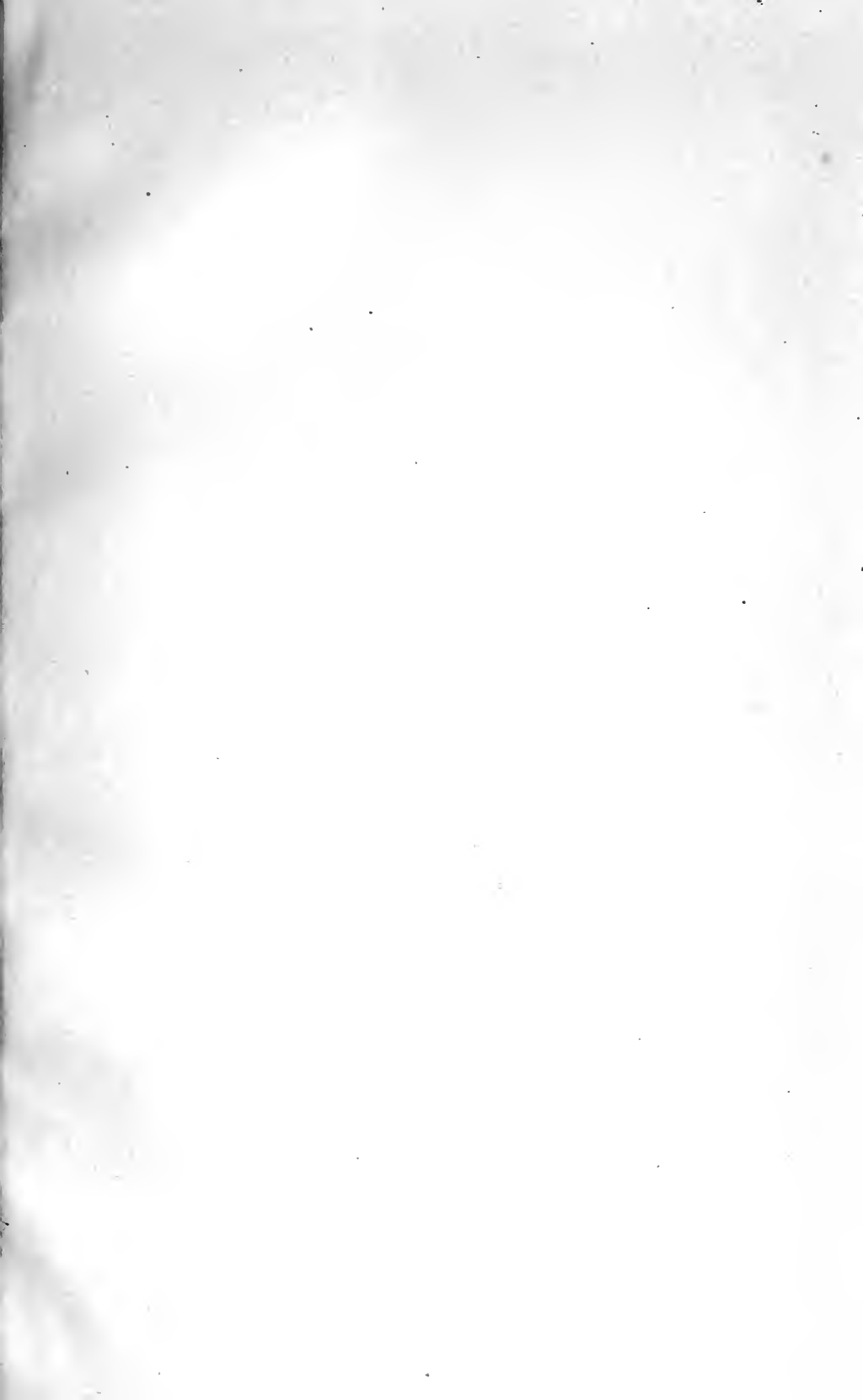
The more important publications in which the work of the glaciers of the San Juan Mountains is discussed are:

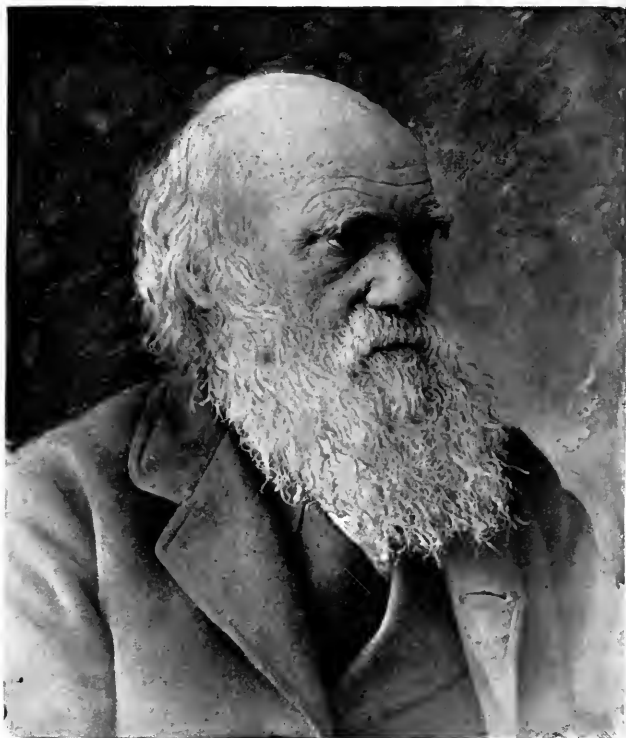
Silverton, Telluride and Ouray Folios of the U. S. Geological Atlas.

Glacial Phenomena of the San Juan Mountains, by E. Howe and W. Cross. Bulletin Geological Society of America, Vol. 17, pp. 251-274. Illustrated.

Extinct Glaciers of the San Juan Mountains, Colorado, by R. C. Hills, Proceedings Colorado Scientific Society, Vol. 1, pp. 39-46.

The Las Animas Glaciers, by G. H. Stone, Jour. of Geol., Vol. 1, 1893, pp. 471-475.





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THE DARWIN CENTENNIAL ADDRESS.

CHARLES DARWIN, 1809-1909.

BY MISS ANNE DORRANCE, A. B. (Vassar).

Member of the Society.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
FEBRUARY 11, 1909.

Charles Robert Darwin, better known as Charles Darwin, was born in Shrewsbury on the twelfth of February, 1809; he died at Down in Kent, the nineteenth of April, 1882. He came of a long line of Englishmen of education, following the so-called learned professions and bearing himself with dignity, having the esteem of their communities. The earliest known Darwin lived at Marton, near Gainsborough, about 1500. Through the different members of this family ran a keen love of nature and a strong poetical feeling. Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of Charles, was a physician and naturalist to whom the world owes a remarkably able statement of the idea of evolution, that subject which his grandson was so to elucidate and put upon foundations such that the whole face of the world's thought would have to change to come into accord with it. Robert Waring Darwin, son of Erasmus and father of Charles, was himself a physician of note and ability, whose lucrative and large practice at Shrewsbury made that fortune which took from his son the worry and care of financial matters and left his mind free for the development of his ideas and theories. Charles Darwin's mother was a daughter of Josiah Wedgwood. She died when her son was eight years old.

Charles Darwin is the most famous member of his family, but had they not been overshadowed by his magnitude there were many who would have stood in the first rank of the world's scientists and who do stand very high. One uncle, Sir Francis Darwin, was an able observer of animals; another uncle, Charles, died from blood poisoning, following

a dissection at the age of twenty-one, leaving behind an essay which has put his name in biographical dictionaries. His cousins, Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood, Sir Henry Holland and Mr. Francis Galton, each lead in their lines of work. Two of his sons, Francis and George, have done work which has put them in the front ranks of botanical and astronomical work to-day.

There is but little to be said of Charles Darwin's early school life, for the education of his day, with its classical leanings, had small attractions for a boy whose heart was with nature and whose spare moments went into the collecting and naming of plants and animals and minerals. An older brother, preparing to study medicine, fitted up a chemical laboratory in the tool house in his father's garden. Charles helped his brother, and the two boys worked there, often far into the night. When this unusual entertainment became known at school, the lad was nicknamed "Gas" and severely reprimanded by his headmaster. In his autobiography Mr. Darwin says: "This was the best part of my education at school, for it showed me practically the meaning of experimental science."¹

Realizing the futility of keeping him longer at work which was so distasteful to him, he was sent, at the age of sixteen, with this same older brother to the University of Edinburgh to study medicine. The round of lectures was most uncongenial to him and he soon became convinced that medicine was not the profession for him to make his own. Finally his father was brought to see things in the same light and it was decided that he prepare for the church. With this in view he went up to Cambridge, matriculated at Christ College, and took his bachelor's degree in 1831. This plan was never given up definitely, but simply set aside, unconsciously as the days and weeks and months of the voyage of the *Beagle* spent themselves and so showed him what his true

¹Darwin F Ed. "The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, 1898. I. p. 32.

vocation was. The autobiography says concerning this phase: "Considering how fiercely I have been attacked by the orthodox, it seems ludicrous that I once intended to become a clergyman. Nor was this intention and my father's wish ever formally given up, but died a natural death, when, on leaving Cambridge, I joined the *Beagle* as naturalist. If the phrenologists are to be trusted, I was well fitted in one respect to be a clergyman. A few years ago the secretaries of a German psychological society asked me earnestly by letter for a photograph of myself, and sometime afterwards I received the proceedings of one of their meetings, in which it seemed that the shape of my head had been the subject of a public discussion, and one of the speakers declared that I had the bump of reverence developed enough for ten priests."²

At Cambridge his friends were Henslow, the botanist, under whom he did much work, Whewell, the philosopher, and, later, Sedgwick, the geologist. He was known as the man who walked with Henslow, and those walks bore much fruit, for they gave the older man an insight into the character of the younger. It was through Henslow that he went on a long and important geological expedition with Sedgwick, and also through him that the invitation to join the *Beagle* came. H. M. S. *Beagle*, with Captain Fitzroy commanding, was about to start on a voyage into unknown waters for purposes of surveying, mapping, etc., and a naturalist was wanted for the expedition. This position appealed strongly to Darwin when Captain Fitzroy offered it to him; he saw its possibilities and its opportunities, and he desired greatly to go. Dr. Darwin objected for many reasons, and not seeing the bearing of a five years' voyage around the world on the study for the ministry. At the intervention and urgent solicitation of his brother-in-law, Josiah Wedgwood, Dr. Darwin consented. On the twenty-seventh of December, 1831, Charles Darwin sailed on the

²Darwin F. ed. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*. 1898. I. pp. 39-40.

Beagle as naturalist, beginning a circumnavigation of the world, which ended supposedly on the second of October, 1836, but whose influence will be felt while man questions the world in which he lives, and while he would read the history of that world, showing him his development from the brute and his assumption of the indwelling divine; and with that assumption he would read the story of the future of which he alone of the world's inhabitants appears to take cognizance and whose uncertainty he fears and dreads. For Mr. Darwin it furnished the work of his life, in whose execution he gave out that wonderful series of books and papers which have revolutionized thought in science and knowledge and in life. But to do this he sacrificed his health, and in after years his working ability was greatly curtailed. In 1838 he married his cousin, Emma Wedgwood, and in 1842 he settled at Down in Kent, whence came those sources of inspiration which filled his colleagues with wonder and which have been the inspiration of countless younger students of the world. For to him was granted that boon which few men have,—not only did he live to see his work accepted by his peers and co-laborers, but he saw a younger generation inspired and led by his work, pushing ahead with the vigor of youth and with each step showing more fully and clearly the beauty and far reaching qualities of the work of the master, an upcoming generation appreciating the labor and the difficulties and marvelling at the will power of the man whose physical condition was such that he could work but a few hours in each day, and those few hours separated by long intervals of rest.

In closing his reminiscences in the two volumes of the "Life and Letters", his son Francis writes: "If the character of my father's working life is to be understood, the conditions of ill-health, under which he worked, must be constantly borne in mind. He bore his illness with such uncomplaining patience that even his children can hardly, I believe, realize the extent of his habitual suffering. In their case the

difficulty is heightened by the fact that, from the days of their earliest recollections, they saw him in constant ill-health,—and saw him, in spite of it, full of pleasure in what pleased them. Thus, in later life, their perception of what he endured had to be disentangled from impressions produced in childhood by constant genial kindness under conditions of unrecognized difficulty. No one, indeed, except my mother, knows the full amount of suffering he endured, or the full amount of his wonderful patience. For all the latter years of his life she never left him for a night, and her days were so planned that all his resting hours might be shared with her. She shielded him from every avoidable annoyance and omitted nothing that might save him trouble or prevent his becoming overtired, or that might alleviate the many discomforts of his ill-health. I hesitate to speak thus freely of a thing so sacred as the life-long devotion which prompted all this constant and tender care. But it is, I repeat, a principal feature of his life, that that for nearly forty years he never knew the health of ordinary men, and that thus his life was one long struggle against the weariness and strain of sickness. And this cannot be told without speaking of the one condition which enabled him to bear the strain and fight out the struggle to the end.”³

Under such conditions did he labor and complete his work, dividing his day into periods for work and periods for rest. The former were three in number and were from 8 to 9:30, 10:30 to 12:15, and from 4:30 to 6; less than two hours duration each. The following quotation from the “Power of Movement in Plants” will show what the character of that work was and what it meant to lay it aside so often. His son Francis worked with him in the preparation of this book. “The movements, sometimes very small and sometimes considerable in extent, of the various organs observed by us, were traced in the manner which, after many trials, we found to be best, and which must be de-

³Darwin F. ed. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*. 1898. I. pp. 135-136.

scribed. Plants growing in pots were protected wholly from the light, or had light admitted from above, or on one side, as the case might require, and were covered above by a large horizontal sheet of glass, and with another vertical sheet on one side. A glass filament, not thicker than a horse hair, and from a quarter to three-quarters of an inch in length, was affixed to the part to be observed by means of shellac dissolved in alcohol. The solution was allowed to evaporate until it became so thick that it set hard in two or three seconds, and it never injured the tissues, even the tips of tender radicles, to which it was applied. To the end of the glass filament an excessively minute bead of black sealing wax was cemented, below or behind which a bit of card with a black dot was fixed to a stick driven into the ground. The weight of the filament was so slight that even small leaves were not perceptibly pressed down. Another method of observation, when much magnification of the movement was not required, will presently be described. The bead and the dot on the card were viewed through the horizontal or vertical glass plate (according to the position of the object), and when one exactly covered the other, a dot was made on the glass plate with a sharply pointed stick dipped in thick Indian ink. Other dots were made at short intervals of time and these were afterwards joined by straight lines. The figures thus traced were therefore angular, but if the dots had been made every one or two minutes, the lines would have been more curvilinear, as occurred when radicals were allowed to trace their own courses on smoked glass plates. To make the dots accurately was the sole difficulty and required some practice. Nor could this be done quite accurately, when the movement was much magnified, such as thirty times and upwards; yet even in this case the general course may be trusted, to test the accuracy of the above method of observation, a filament was fixed to an inanimate object which was made to slide along a straight edge and dots were repeatedly made on a glass plate; when these were

joined the result ought to have been a perfectly straight line, and the line was very nearly straight. It may be added that when the dot on the card was placed half an inch below or behind the bead of sealing wax, and when the glass plate (supposing it to have been properly curved) stood at a distance of seven inches in front (a common distance), then the tracing represented the movement of the bead magnified fifteen times.

"Whenever a great increase of the movement was not required, another, and in some respects better, method of observation was followed. This consisted in fixing two triangles of thin paper, about one-twentieth inch in height, to the two ends of the attached glass filament, and when their tips were brought into a line so that they covered one another, dots were made as before on the glass plate, etc., etc." This extract will show the technique and skill which were required to carry out his lines of work.⁴

Nine pages of an appendix⁵ to the "Life and Letters" are given over to a chronological list of the books, monographs and articles which Mr. Darwin published. A casual reading of this list shows the versatility of the man's mind. The fact that they are authorities on their subjects shows the keenness of his judgment and the breadth of his mentality. It seems almost infantile to attempt a selection of any as the "most important" when all are of such vast and far-reaching influence in the world. But it is impossible to reproduce those nine pages and a selection must be made. It would be well to head the list without individual titles, those volumes which relate to the story of the voyage of the *Beagle* ranking with similar volumes of Humboldt, the inspiration of many a young naturalist. Then follow:

"The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs."

"On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life."

⁴Darwin C. "The Power of Movement in Plants." 1900. pp. 5-7.

⁵Darwin F. ed. The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin. 1898. II. pp. 533-541.

"On the Various Contrivances by Which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects."

"The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication."

"The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex."

"Insectivorous Plants."

"The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom."

"The Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species."

"The Power of Movement in Plants."

"The Formation of Vegetable Mould, Through the Action of Worms, with Observations on Their Habits."

An instant's thought will show that these few selections form a remarkable series on the interpretation of nature, and on closer inspection we see that the series can be divided into two branches, the one dealing with geology, the handwriting of the aeons which are gone; the other with biology, the study of life and living forms. With a masterly hand do they tell the story of the observations and deductions of the man whose life work they represent.

The book on "Coral Reefs" gave in its statement of the results of gradual subsidence that clear, beautiful and satisfactory explanation of the formation of those little islands for which the world was waiting and which no one has yet superseded.

In the botanical and zoological part we find Mr. Darwin in his element, and we find him tracing out with a sure and unflinching hand that theory of evolution for which his name stands and for which the whole thinking world venerates and honors him; and which is bidding that same world halt and remember, and is giving those of the younger generations an opportunity to express their debt to Charles Darwin. A glance at the program of the various celebrations shows what might be done were time and experience in me to do it.

In botany we find, aside from the work on movements in plants and on climbing plants, the wonderful explanation of the origin, reason and development of the colors, markings and forms of plants. Right close at hand did he find material for the explanation of the two and three-formed flowers in one species. He found it in the little English primrose, which is so associated with the country and which before had been

"A primrose by a river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

Now that primrose tells to him who would read a story of law obeyed and destiny fulfilled.

Darwin's work in zoology, and especially the expression of his conclusions in the *Origin*, have brought him most prominently before the public. Many of the same ideas had been set forth before. Buffon, Erasmus Darwin, Goethe, Lamarck and Herbert Spencer had propounded similar theories, but they had not touched the mind of the ordinary public nor aroused their ire as did Darwin in the "*Origin*." Perhaps they made no personal appeal, not making so keen an application of the theory as to seem to attack long adhered to dogmas and prejudice of the human race. But the "*Origin*" was met with a tirade and villification, such, perhaps, as no other book has ever had. A few generations before and Charles Darwin would have met a fate similar to that of Bruno, Copernicus, Gallileo and the many others who gave their liberty or their lives in setting before an unbelieving and unwelcome world an interpretation of that world which has since been accepted and adopted. But this abuse, while hard to endure, bore its fruit. The book was read, widely, but not wisely nor too well. The first edition was exhausted at once; a second soon followed, and a sixth was published in 1872. It has been characterized as the most important book of the nineteenth century, because of its influence on the world at large and its forms of thought, so

great that every form of human knowledge and learning has been revolutionized and reorganized in order to adapt it to the lines laid down in that statement of evolution it contained, and which it put upon a firm, workable and satisfying basis as no previous statement of the theory had done.

In July, 1837, Mr. Darwin began a note book on the history of species and their development, more than twenty years before he published his book. About a year later, in reading Malthus' essay on population as entertainment, he found therein the clear, strong argument of the struggle which all living creatures endure that they may survive, then his theory began to take shape and develop on truly evolutionary lines. From that moment he worked with the enthusiasm and fervor which are part of genius. In 1842 he wrote out a brief pencil sketch of thirty-five pages. This he enlarged two years later to 230 pages. Soon after this the influence of and part played by variation came to him. His theory was practically complete. Now came a period of trial to see whether it would really hold water, and during this probation period there was consultation with Lyell and Hooker, and a letter to Asa Gray, the American botanist. A book was planned and data were being collected. In 1858, as a bolt out of a clear sky, Alfred Russell Wallace, a young naturalist working in the Malay Archipelago, sent to Darwin to read and then pass on to Lyell, an essay entitled "On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type." When he had read this Darwin found, to his amazement, that Wallace had reached the same conclusions that he had. The essay was sent to Sir Charles Lyell, with a note signifying Darwin's intention to fulfill his friend's request and present it to the Linnean Society; but without mention of his own conclusions, reached long before Wallace had put his out. Hooker and Lyell were not willing that this should be done. Finally they prevailed upon Darwin to allow them to send certain parts of his work upon the question with Wallace's essay and with the following letter of transmission:

LONDON, June 30th, 1858.

"My Dear Sir: The accompanying papers, which we have the honor of communicating to the Linnean Society, and which all relate to the same subject, viz: the laws which affect the production of varieties, races, and species, contain the results of the investigations of two indefatigable naturalists, Mr. Charles Darwin and Mr. Alfred Wallace.

"These gentlemen having, independently and unknown to one another, conceived the same very ingenious theory to account for the appearance and perpetuation of varieties and of specific forms on our planet, may both fairly claim the merit of being original thinkers in this important line of inquiry, but neither of them having published his views, though Mr. Darwin has for many years past been repeatedly urged by us to do so, and both authors having now unreservedly placed their papers in our hands, we think it would best promote the interests of science that a selection from them should be laid before the Linnean Society.

"Taken in the order of their dates, they consist of:

"1. Extracts from a MS. work on species, by Mr. Darwin, which was sketched in 1839 and copied in 1844, when the copy was read by Dr. Hooker, and its contents afterward communicated to Sir Charles Lyell. The first part is devoted to 'The Variation of Organic Beings under Domestication and in their natural State,' and the second chapter of that part from which we propose to read to the Society the extracts referred to, is headed 'On the Variation of Organic Beings in a State of Nature; on the Natural Means of Selection; on the Comparison of Domestic Race and True Species.'

"2. An abstract of a private letter addressed to Professor Asa Gray, of Boston, U. S., in October, 1857, by Mr. Darwin, in which he repeats his views, and which shows that these remained unaltered from 1839 to 1857.

"3. An essay by Mr. Wallace, entitled 'On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type.'

This was written at Ternate in February, 1858, for the perusal of his friend and correspondent, Mr. Darwin, and sent to him with the expressed wish that it should be forwarded to Sir Charles Lyell, if Mr. Darwin thought it sufficiently novel and interesting. So highly did Mr. Darwin appreciate the value of the views therein set forth, that he proposed, in a letter to Sir Charles Lyell, to obtain Mr. Wallace's consent to allow the essay to be published as soon as possible. Of this step we highly approved, provided Mr. Darwin did not withhold from the public, as he was strongly inclined to do (in favor of Mr. Wallace), the memoir which he had himself written on the same subject, and which, as before stated, one of us had perused in 1844, and the contents of which we had, both of us, been privy to for many years.

"On representing this to Mr. Darwin, he gave us permission to make what use we thought proper of his memoir, etc., and in adopting our present course, of presenting it to the Linnean Society, we have explained to him that we are not solely considering the claims of priority of himself and his friend, but the interests of science generally, for we feel it to be desirable that views founded on a wide deduction from facts, and matured by years of reflecting, should constitute at once a goal from which others may start; and that, while the scientific world is waiting for the appearance of Mr. Darwin's complete work, some of the leading results of his labours, as well as those of his able correspondent, should together be laid before the public.

"We have the honor to be yours very obediently,

"CHARLES LYELL,

"JOS. D. HOOKER."⁶

About one year after the reading of these joint communications the "Origin of Species" appeared, in November, 1859. Charles Darwin was fifty years old and the labors of his life had reached a fruition in that book which has

⁶Locy, W. A. "Biology and Its Makers." 1908. pp. 420-422.

changed thought, history, religion, and all theories of man's life, and has furnished him with a statement of truth and fact which quieted many of his questions as to the whence, the why, and the how. What was its message? Simply that species of plants and animals were not created as such, separate and distinct, but that they were developed from or descended, with modifications, from ancestral forms of greater or less complexity; from forms of less complexity to those of greater, when the evolution was in the ascendant scale and there was what man calls "advance". From greater to less complexity, when the scale was in the descendant and there was what man calls "degeneracy". In other words, the pictorial representation of the races, species and varieties of the living world is not linear, as we roughly draw our genealogical tables of reigning families, and others, but in the form of a tree with its roots in that mystery of mysteries, which none can penetrate, the origin of life, and which, as it grows and develops, puts out branches and branchlets, each with a related individual or group of individuals on it, all connected by the common source of life, protoplasm, flowing on through the living forms of earth, as the sap flows through the tree, supplying its leaves and fruit with the source of life. As the leaves on the outermost branches of the trees are in a better relation to light, air and sunshine, so the individuals at the heads of their kind are better able to cope with their environment and survive, which is nature's standard of advance.

Mr. Darwin based his theory upon the facts of variation, inheritance and natural selection.

When Mr. Darwin began to think about this work he wished evidence and data. The most available form of this he found in the work of the raisers of plants and animals, the work of practical men on flowers, fruits and vegetables, dogs, horses, sheep, cows, pigeons, poultry, and the host of living forms which man has domesticated and put to his own

uses. In this he saw that individuals varied, that the breeders made use of certain variations, discarding the others. Thus is it possible to raise from the common root stock of the rock pigeon, by artificial selection, creatures seemingly so far apart as the pouter, the fan-tail and the carrier pigeon. The mastiff and the toy spaniel have a common ancestor, likewise the race horse and the draft. If there were this variation amongst plants and animals in domestication, what was the condition in nature? The answer is "again variation". In a herd of deer some are fleet of foot, some slow; in a pack of wolves, some keen of scent and sight, some dull. How can species profit from this variation? Only if the succeeding generations have the beneficial variation in an equal or potentially greater degree. This involves the second basal fact of heredity. Indirectly heredity has been defined as "likeness to the past". The author of this definition adds in a very illuminating way, "Likeness to the past, which we call heredity in biology and the conservative policy in politics."⁷ Directly heredity is that characteristic of living matter by which it tends to reproduce more or less faithfully the form which gave it birth. One does not gather figs from thistles nor yet roses from oak trees, nor rear chickens from geese, nor horses from cows.

If heredity be the conservative element in nature, then variation may be said to be the radical element. How do these two diametrically opposed forces abide in a harmonious world and work for law and order and the working out of destiny? Charles Darwin found this connecting link in the working of natural selection. The seeds of a plant are innumerable, the eggs of a fish are not to be counted, the generations of a bacterium are beyond the ken of man, yet were the offspring of a single generation of a single species to survive, all other forms would be driven to the wall and from existence. Hence, there ensues a struggle for the existence between species and individuals of the same

⁷Saleeby, C. W. "Evolution the Master-Key." 1906. p. 8.

species, the strongest survive. This is the meaning of the phrase "natural selection". The law states that there is a struggle for existence in nature and that those individuals survive or are selected which have strength to reach maturity and leave descendants. To the phrase "natural selection" has been added Spencer's qualification "the survival of the fit," expressive to him who understands but confusing to many. It is true that the fit survive, but they survive, not because of that fitness, but because of the weakness of the other party to the struggle; that is to say, nature selects by destroying the weak and unfit. Exactly opposite to man's method, but bearing upon its face the marks of success and the promise of future generations of able, strong individuals. Man's "best" is a selfish best, which selects its fruit or object with a view to his own selfish ends, without thought of the vitality of the tree, or bush, or plant, or animal which bore it, or making it possible for that variety to carry out its part in the economy of the world. Man selects for comfort, ease and selfish satisfaction, a species of exploitation, while nature, seemingly heartless, selects or permits to exist those qualities of strength and hardiness and economy which make for winning and which continually exemplify that definition which says that life is a constant adjustment of self to environment. The standard of fitness varies, with the environment; on the prairies natural selection has produced a long-legged, keen of foot race of wolves, while in the forest it has developed a race short of leg and slow of foot.

This theory being based on variation, heredity and selection, what are the proofs that these facts will account with any degree of satisfaction for the results? Nature was appealed to and she told her story from the points of view of the past and of the present. The rocks of our hills and mountains carry with them the story of the past in the fossils which are more or less abundant according to the age,

history and formation of the rock. Geologists have taken up the problem and have added their findings to those of Mr. Darwin's and with them have added strength to strength. The shells of the inland lakes of Europe have been found in very complete evolutionary series, from the early forms of the deeper deposits to those of the present day. But the classic example from geology is that of the horse, the most beautiful series of all, because of its completeness, and, to Americans, the most interesting, since it was worked out to its finish on our own western plains, and by our geologists, and because of the wonderful exhibit which is to be seen in the Natural History Museum in the city of New York. This is, perhaps, the most interesting geological exhibit extant because of its completeness and size. Other evidence has been wrested from the rocks and the story of the past is completing itself as man works on and pits his handful of grey brain matter against the mighty rocks.

The evidence of the present falls under several heads. The first is that of geographical distribution, which takes into consideration the distribution of species in space and explains the differences of species in localities somewhat near each other, but separated by some physical barrier. It takes up the peculiar forms of life extant in isolated places, as in the islands of the Australian group, showing their relationships evolutionally.

Following this comes the testimony of morphology or anatomy, which through careful dissections compares the structures and shows the place, age and use of bones and different structures. Comparative anatomy has made the whole vertebrate world akin and its careful work has discovered the little amphioxys, a remarkable little creature related almost as nearly to the worms as to the fishes, thus standing between the vertebrates and invertebrates and connecting the two great divisions of the animal world. Morphology has traced the evolutionary series with great completeness

and has substituted a natural classification for the artificial systems in use before the days of the "Origin". Physiology, the twin of morphology, has also thrown wonderful light upon the theory of evolution.

Perhaps, the most marvellous testimony of all comes from the field of embryology, that wonderful story which each individual tells in its own development of the history of its ancestors, and which is also the epitome of the history of the world, of course, in a very much reduced form and shortened period. The phrase "ontogeny repeats phylogeny" is expressive of what is known as the recapitulation theory, and tells us that in their early development, animals, whether high or low, go through very similar stages; some rudimentary organs appear during the development of the embryo, indicating steps and history of ages gone by. Gill-clefts appear and the chick breathes through them, while its blood circulates through the gill-arches for a time, then the higher vertebrate lungs and heart appear, soon the chick is hatched and begins to scratch and work out its life, little thinking that it has just gone through and demonstrated one of the wonders of the world.

Probably the most interesting, because coming the most closely home of all Mr. Darwin's application of his theory of evolution, is his application of it to the human race. Testing man's position with the criteria of morphology, anatomy, physiology and embryology, man is, as Mr. Darwin said, NOT a creature apart from other animals, but physically one of them, the highest animal, who has descended from an ape-like ancestor, not from an ape; the two had a common ancestor, and then developed by adding variation to variation, upon lines running side by side for a time, then rapidly diverging, until now man stands at the head of the tree, able to cope with his environment, and to make that environment amenable to many of his ways. While physically man is "not only a vertebrate, a mammal,

and a primate, but he belongs, as a genus, to the catarrhine family of apes. And just as lions, leopards, and lynxes—different genera of the cat family—are descended from a common stock of carnivora, back to which we may also trace the pedigree of dogs, hyænas, bears, and seals; so the various genera of platyrrhine and catarrhine apes, including Man, are doubtless descended from a common stock of primates, back to which we may also trace the converging pedigrees of monkeys and lemurs, until their ancestry becomes indistinguishable from that of rabbits and squirrels.”⁸ But “with the Darwinian biology, we rise to a higher view of the workings of God and of the nature of Man than was ever attainable before. So far from degrading Humanity, or putting it on a level with the animal world in general, the Darwinian theory shows us distinctly for the first time how the creation and perfecting of Man is the goal toward which Nature’s work has all the while been tending. It enlarges tenfold the significance of human life, places it upon even a loftier eminence than poets or prophets have imagined, and makes it seem more than ever the chief object of that creative energy which is manifested in the physical universe.”⁹

To those who have stood within the walls of England’s marvelous Westminster Abbey and have pondered upon what it stands for in the history of the race which holds it dear, and have wandered from the little Chapter House, the cradle of that political liberty which the Anglo-Saxon values as his chiefest earthly possession, to that spot where, surrounded by the beautiful and ornate tombs of warriors and of statesmen who have moulded the course of the world’s history, are cut in plain and simple letters the words “Charles Darwin”; and stand there spell bound at the simplicity which marks the resting place of the man who took his fellows to the mountain tops and pushed back the horizon,

⁸Fiske, John. “The Destiny of Man in the Light of His Origin.” 1887. pp. 19-20.

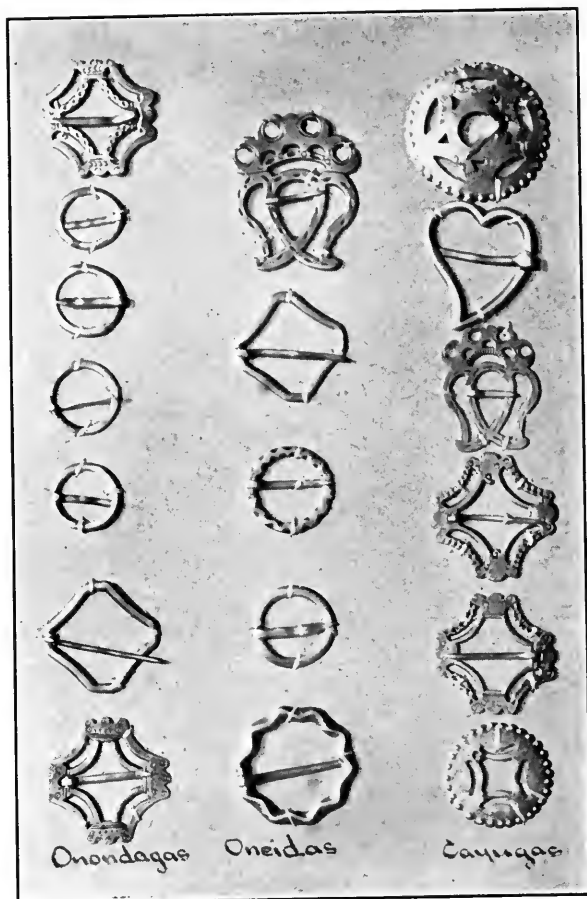
⁹Ibid. p. 25.

opening up the past and the future with the chiefest heavenly possession, mental, moral, and spiritual freedom, no words can more fully express the feelings than those of John Fiske, written on the day that the tomb was closed: "It is fitting that in the great Abbey, where rest the ashes of England's noblest heroes, the place of the discoverer of natural selection should be near that of Sir Isaac Newton. Since the publication of the immortal 'Principia', no single scientific book has so widened the mental horizon of mankind as the 'Origin of the Species.' Mr. Darwin, like Newton, was a very young man when his great discovery suggested itself to him. Like Newton, he waited many years before publishing it to the world. Like Newton, he lived to see it become part and parcel of the mental equipment of all men of science. The theological objection urged against the Newtonian theory by Leibnitz, that it substituted the action of natural causes for the immediate action of the Deity, was also urged against the Darwinian theory by Agassiz; and the same objection will doubtless continue to be urged against scientific explanations of natural phenomena so long as there are men who fail to comprehend the profoundly theistic and religious truth that the action of natural causes is in itself the action of the Deity. It is interesting, however, to see that, as theologians are no longer frightened by the doctrine of gravitation, so they are already beginning to outgrow their dread of the doctrine of natural selection. On the Sunday following Mr. Darwin's death, Canon Liddon, at St. Paul's Cathedral, and Cannons Barry and Prothero, at Westminster Abbey, agreed in referring to the Darwinian theory as 'not necessarily hostile to the fundamental truths of religion.' The effect of Mr. Darwin's work has been, however, to remodel the theological conceptions of the origin and destiny of man which were current in former times. In this respect it has wrought a revolution as great as that which Copernicus inaugurated and Newton com-

pleted, and of very much the same kind. Again has man been rudely unseated from his imaginary throne in the centre of the universe, but only that he may learn to see in the universe and in human life a richer and deeper meaning than he had before suspected. Truly, he who unfolds to us the way in which God works through the world of phenomena may well be called the best of religious teachers. In the study of the organic world, no less than in the study of the starry heavens, is it true that 'day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge.'"¹⁰

¹⁰Fiske, John. "Excursions of an Evolutionist." 1890. pp. 367-369.





Silver brooches from the Ethnological Collection of this Society.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE IROQUOIS ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY AND THE ADJACENT REGION.

BY ARTHUR C. PARKER.

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READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY DEC. 10, 1909.

(LANING HISTORICAL FUND.)

A year ago this winter, bound on an official errand for the New York State Museum, I boarded an express train at Albany, the capital city of New York, and sped westward at a mile a minute rate through a thriving region of alternating town and country to the city of Syracuse. Arriving at that busy central city, I hired a horse and galloped off to the south over a snow covered road. After six or seven miles of brisk riding, in a none too kind wind, I found myself in a totally different country. Not that the snow, or rocks, or trees were different, or the wind, or roads, or fences were different. It was not that—the country itself was different. The men and women whom I passed were dressed just the same as men and women in any rural district, and even the children enjoyed their sleds and laughingly threw snow balls, as do children everywhere in our eastern States, but even so these people were different. Beneath their coats beat hearts that were stirred with emotions and recollections unknown to the people in the cities and rural places through which I had just passed. They were of another race and of another nation. The country in which I found myself had belonged to these people ages before the white invasion, ages before the landing of the pilgrim fathers or the voyages of Columbus and the Cabots. No aliens were the people I saw, nor were their ancestors ever so, as yours were, for they were Indians,—Onondagas, and only half a mile away

was the capitol of the Iroquois League, the capitol of an empire which once dictated the policy of tribes and nations. I jogged on thoughtfully and passed the long house building of the Onondaga Nation, from whose chimney poured the smoke of the unextinguished council fire. Turning down the bend of the road, I reined my horse in front of a neat white farm house, dismounted and rapped on the door. A white haired man flung it open and exclaimed: "Gawaso-'wanneh!" "Nia'we'ska no Sa'hawhe!" I replied and entered. I was welcomed into the home of the executive officer of the League of the Iroquois, the president of a nation older than the United States, and older than many an European State as modernly constituted. The hand that clasped mine in friendly greeting and the voice that spoke the welcome were those of a man of striking appearance, neatly dressed in modern clothing, but whose dark, bronzed skin and flashing black eyes told of his noble descent, whose ancestors had been the lords of all the continent east of the Mississippi, told of an Indian whose nation, though shrunken, had survived the onslaughts of four mighty nations for a period of three centuries. Few nations could have so suffered and lived! Few nations could have so resisted and not have become absorbed, exterminated or demoralized and scattered to lose identity. Little wonder, then, that this simple man was proud; no wonder, though as I saw him an hour later clad in blue jeans, his bearing was that of a knight that knew the dignity of honest toil. I transacted my business with him, and after a splendid dinner, prepared by his good wife, I bade the Chief adieu.

A few hours later I found myself in the city of Buffalo, and after an hour's run over the Erie Railroad, I got out at a small country station that lay on the frontier of another country,—my country, the country of the Seneca Nation, though the unthoughtful often call it a reservation. Here for a week I passed my time with two classes of Indians,—Christians and Adis'towea'no', though white men call the

latter pagans. Representatives of both classes entertained me. I spoke in the Christian church and I spoke in the pagan temple, yet I do not think this inconsistent, for I believe in all the good in the ancient teachings of Dagoniwida and of Ganiodaio, just as I believe in all the good in the teachings of the white man's belief. The time was that of the mid-winter thanksgiving, when all the ancient practices of my nation were enacted. I sang the old songs and I danced the old dances of the forest people, because my heart was glad and full of thanksgiving to the Creator who had so richly endowed me and my nation with good gifts,—and if this is paganism it is nevertheless good religion. This type of a pagan is no ingrate at least, and thinks more of thanking and of doing than of asking. However, lest I make you all pagans by telling of the Indian's religion, I refrain, for be it known that no Indian ever created or participated in a religious war. After the Long House ceremonies one evening I received a message. A mouth whispered a word in my ear and I knew it the name of a secret. It was the summons to a meeting in the darkness where the Little Water Company gathered. All night, where neither moon nor star could be seen, the drama of the Kind Hunter was enacted, and when gray dawn came, came with it the feast of the boars head and the distribution of the feast.

I continued my travels even to a little nook in Warren county, Pennsylvania, and in the out of the way places which I knew I found tribes and nations still living, though hard pressed by white men, living outwardly clothed and domiciled as white men, but at heart red men still with pride of ancestry, love of ancient ritual and affection for the mother tongue. Yet where are the other tribes and nations that lived in the east, or which have even a few representatives not under the wing of the wounded, but yet living League?

When I returned to Albany a few days later, I carried with me a host of thoughts, and some of them are these: The League of the Five Nations had been an empire long

before the Empire State as such existed. That league, to metaphorically describe its peaceful purpose, called itself the "Great Peace," and described its dominion as "the Long House." Its western door was to open out on the Genesee River, and the Senecas were to dwell there and guard that door against the invasion of the treacherous foe to the west. The Onondagas were to keep the council fire and guard the place of national assembly. The Mohawks at the east were to guard the eastern door and collect the tribute from the tribes and nations to the south and east. In this great Long House, dedicated to peace and fraternity, the brother nations, the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca were to dwell in peace and harmony. The Long House Confederacy has been the result of Dekanahwideh's untiring labor and its laws had been formulated by Hiawatha. Its aim was to prevent international and inter-tribal warfare and bring about a beneficent reign of peace. It desired all the nations of the continent to unite with it and live under its guidance. Those nations which were jealous of its power or hostile to its purposes were warned and then destroyed, the broken remnants of the resisting tribes gathered into small bands and scattered among the Iroquois villages. The Iroquois languages were taught, and as the children of the captives forgot their fathers' tongue, the captives were absorbed to forget their ancestry. Just as many tribes and nations to-day unite here under one government to forget, as time goes by, the ties on the other side of the oceans, so the captives of the Iroquois became absorbed to give new blood and vigor to the Confederacy. The truth of history is this, and I know of no other writer who has thus put it: The Iroquois, as a people, were not a race or stock, they were a system, a composite of all the finest tribes and finest individuals of the Indians of eastern North America. The fittest of the Sioux, the Muskhogean, Huronian and Algonquin stock, with their numerous sub-tribes, absorbed by the original Iroquois unit, coalesced into a composite Indian nation, the Iroquois,—a people whose racial

vitality as a result of their system, has no parallel in history. They were the fittest and the offspring of the fittest, and the fittest once adopted were treated as the fittest. The loyalty of the adopted tribes to the Iroquois, though once bitter enemies, is one of the anomalies of ethnology. The Iroquois system and Iroquois law swept into the Iroquois Nation irresistably thousands of hostile men and women who once in the system became its enthusiastic champions, and neither history or tradition mention a traitor among them.

In the history of the Iroquois League there came an epoch. The white invaders came, came as supplicants humbly asking favors, and their demeanor was not that of a dominant people. When crossed in their wishes some of the invaders made war and some of these wars were fatal to the pale invaders. The French, under Champlain, in 1609, fired a volley of bullets at Ticonderoga and the Mohawk-Iroquois tasted the lead. The French repented in bitter defeats for more than a hundred years those few ounces of lead, for they came back a thousand fold and French dreams of colonization were crushed, and French power in America became weak and weaker, until it expired totally. Becoming the allies of the English, the Iroquois adhered staunchly to their compacts and fought in the front line of the fight which preserved for an English speaking people the coast and middle Atlantic region, to say nothing of the territory which grew from it. Sir William Johnson, to whom Americans owe much,—and have forgotten the debt, said: "The Iroquois are the tower and bulwark of defense between us and the French." Nor was Sir William ever slow to acknowledge what the Iroquois had done for England.

In their heroic effort to secure peace, even at the price of war, the Iroquois conquered nearly all the Indian nations north of the Gulf States and east of the Mississippi River and held as their dominion a territory greater in extent than the Roman Emperors ever boasted. Yet these people have been called savages. In the culture scale this is true, but

when compared with people calling themselves civilized the Iroquois were not savages. Civilized men of the colonial period were guilty of crimes in their warfare far more revolting than the Iroquois ever perpetrated. The inflamed white man burst his thin veneer of civilization and became the savage Gaul or Saxon all too easily to be a just judge of the Indian. The story has only half been told, and that half is the white man's, which for the most part has described the patriotic desperate struggle of the natives of America as savagery, while the same accounts praise the white man's brutal, vengeful depredations and heartless onslaughts as punitive measures necessary for the protection of the country. Indian victories were called massacres, white men's massacres were glorious victories,—battles for freedom, and we now sing: "My Country, 'Tis of Thee!" And talking about the country, few have ever asked where they got it and how.

In November of this year (1909), in company with Mr. Christopher Wren, your Curator of Archaeology and Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., members of the Society, I wandered over the battlefield of Wyoming. The place and its environs was of intense interest to me, for my own ancestors had poured down through the cut in the mountain and fallen upon the settlement at Wyoming. The so-called massacre, however, as Mr. Harvey has discovered from an examination of original documents in the British Colonial office, was a carefully planned battle, and in all of its essential details laid out at Montreal two years before.

One of the interesting facts over which historians have long disputed, is whether Capt. Joseph Brant led the Indians in this raid. The Indians have always denied this, as have several historians, notably Stone. Brant's son, John, went to England to protest against the statement that his father had participated in the battle and strongly objected to his father being described as the "monster Brant". O. J. Harvey, Esq., and Rev. Horace E. Hayden have recently

shown by documentary evidence that Brant had no active part in the battle.

Brant was not a monster, although his superior officer, Walter Butler, was unquestionably one, and one whom Brant, the Indian, despised. J. Max Reid, the historian of the Mohawk Valley, in reviewing the lives of Brant and Butler, says: "I have searched in vain for a single kindly act or generous impulse of Captain Butler and his infamous son, Walter N. When their acts are compared with those of Brant's, their deeds are the deeds of savages and Brant's those of a noble, generous man."*

Walter Butler's savagery was too ferocious for even savages to endure. He was despised and hunted by the Oneidas, loyal to the patriotic cause, and was indeed shot by an Oneida on the banks of Oneida Creek fifteen miles above Herkimer. As the Indian raised his tomahawk to dispatch him he begged for mercy, like the coward that he was, but nevertheless lost his scalp, not, however, until the loyal Oneida had shouted "Remember Cherry Valley!"

As I wandered over the scenes of the Wyoming battlefield I asked Mr. Harvey to point out the notch in the hills and to show me the swamp where the young Seneca warriors had concealed themselves. Mr. Wren and myself, following his lead, went with him to these spots, and together we talked of how his ancestors suffered. The day was one of those foggy, smoky days of early November, but I ventured to make a photograph of the mountain notch, with the swamp in the foreground. The traditions of my Seneca ancestors would make me a descendant of one of the Seneca leaders of the attacking Indians, and, indeed, in the old homestead on the Cattaraugus reservation to-day hangs the knife which he carried, and, perhaps, buried deep in many a patriot's breast.

It was a great pleasure to walk over the historic ground which for so long had been the theatre where tragedies of

*Reid, J. Max, *The Mohawk Valley*, p. 227, Putnam's, 1901.

tribes and nations had been enacted. Several historians have called the Wyoming Valley the Southern Door of the Iroquois Long House. The simile sounds well, but as facts stand the Iroquois never had a side door. The Wyoming Valley was the south lawn, the game preserve and asylum for dependent tribes. The Iroquois regarded this valley as their own by right of conquest, not by conquest sought as such, but one which resulted from the repeated and extended wars of the Susquehannock tribes and their refusal to conform to the plans of the Iroquois League. The Susquehannocks, although of the same original stock, had been the bitter enemies of the Iroquois, perhaps since the Mohawks came south from the Laurentian basin,—but I am getting ahead of my story, since I prefer to deal with it from an anthropological rather than an historical view point, for the Wyoming Valley is the center of more converging lines than the one marked Iroquois or colonial history, and the circle inscribed from this center is one of wide influence in American ethnology as it is also in American history.

PRIMITIVE CULTURES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.

There are few spots in our country more romantic than the Wyoming Valley, and, indeed, there are few regions where local history has been preserved with more zealous care. Whether this is due to the enchantment of its romantic history or to the appreciation of its inhabitants does not concern us immediately. We are more interested in the fact that the events which transpired in the wild, raw days of the pioneer have been well recorded, and that we of to-day may know much of the historic yesterday. We know something but not all, and modern science is content with nothing short of all.

The word recorded facts of the events which transpired in a region such as this, however extensive these records may be, form only a small portion of the history of that region. Fortunately for us we have discovered other records which

were made ages before white men trod this soil, and even ages before Indians or any man walked over the great trails made by the traveling herds of gigantic mammals and gazed upon the wide spreading plains which we call Wyoming.

The earliest records are those of nature herself, the geologic, and these have been interpreted well. Later came perchance preglacial man, whose relics have been found in the Delaware Valley in numbers. Then came the great ice sheet to blast and uproot the forests, to drive men and beasts far to the south and to bury the land under a mile of ice. When the gigantic forces which precipitated the ice age had expended themselves and the sun had reduced ice to water that gushed in might torrents that seamed and furrowed the land into new valleys, and when the waters had subsided and plants and animals flourished man came again, but how long he waited or what stock he represented we know not. We must find the record if we can. This is one of our problems.

This region, as does every region, to the anthropologist, presents its own peculiar problems, and every region bears its own particular relation to the great problems of anthropology. Until these problems are recognized and until local culture variations are known or sought, there can be no true progress in the particular branch of science which we wish to elucidate.

The problems of anthropology carry us deep into the realms of many things. We deal with life and its origin, man and his origin, and mind and its manifestations. The anthropologist seeks an explanation of how a given race of men came upon a continent, when they crystalized into a race or races, what elements modified them, what they did and made, what they believed and said, and how their thoughts and artifacts compare with those of other races of a given culture stage, for strangely, as first viewed, peoples widely separated by time and space, living in a given culture stage, produced similar things and thought similar thoughts.

The anthropologist, therefore, seeks to know and measure the monitions of the cosmic mind that had expressed itself in all men of all times. The child of the ancient caves of Belgium, of the mountains of Ur, of Chaldea, of the shadows of Cheops, of the cromlechs of ancient Briton land, of the gilded temples of the Incas, of the ingloos of the ice clad Arctics, of the leaf huts in the tropics, or of the manger in Bethlehem, all gave the same low cry and sought a mother's breast. The wild, untaught man of the Himalayas, of the jungles of the Gangees, of the rock lands of north Scotland, of the valley of France's Somme, or of the coal hills of the Wyoming Valley, all sought out rude stones and chipped them into knives and spear heads, that, as we gather them now, resemble each other so closely in many ways that save for the material one can scarcely tell from whence they came. Like the cry of the babe, they tell of the first feeble efforts of the infant race to follow the promptings of the cosmic mind to better things. In the struggle to enlightenment some men have gone with greater speed but the same path has been followed. This is the truth which anthropology teaches, but let no man suppose that because one race of men is in the lead that its endurance is greatest, for many in the past have fallen by the wayside while slower minds and feet have plodded on in advance. Speed is not the test,—well balanced growth and conserved energy is.

In America our problem is to tell how man first came here, whether he is of a homogeneous race, and, if not, what racial elements have modified him; how the great linguistic stock originated; how they divided, and what regions they successively occupied. In a given area we have specific problems. We seek to know what tribes and stocks occupied the area, from whence they came and whither they went; what each stock made and how and for what purpose their implements were made and used. We ask what they ate; what grains they cultivated; how and who they fought; how they governed themselves; how women were regarded in

the tribal economy; what their religion and ceremonies were; what their mortuary customs were, and the facts of domestic life, and what they wore. All these facts and more are necessary to determine the degree of culture, or its peculiar form, and unless this scheme is pursued in studying the archeology and ethnology of a people, or a region, no perfect scientific result can be attained.

To those unacquainted with the methods of anthropological research it may seem an impossible thing to know much or even anything concerning the prehistory of a region. To these we answer, that the earth about us contains many relics of the men who lived before us, and many museums, such as this, have collected these relics in order that they may be available for interpretation. As elsewhere I have explained, to those who are wont to rely upon the word written records of history, it may not at first clearly appear how much may be learned from such relics, or how such things can have the import which the archeologist claims. Let it first be realized that early man has left upon the surface of the earth traces of himself by which his prehistory may be materialized far more accurately than it might ever have been from a word written document. We have become so accustomed to rely upon the testimony of word-made records, that we lose sight of the fact that words are but thought symbols, ideophones and ideographs, and that written records may be erroneous and incomplete, while material objects may convey clearer meanings by which a much more accurate knowledge may be gained. We seek to know the man of prehistoric times, yet that man has left us few written documents by which we may read in words his thoughts and learn of his activities. He has done better and we may know him notwithstanding. He has left pencilings upon the surface of the earth which he trod, which neither rains, nor floods, nor the ravages of time have erased save in spots, as a stray raindrop might expunge a letter from a slate and yet leave the word still readable.*

*Parker, A. C. Erie Indian Village. Bull, 117, N. Y. State Museum.

INDIAN TRIBES AFFECTING THE PRIMITIVE CULTURE OF THE
WYOMING VALLEY.

There are few regions in the United States where the archeologist may expect to find a greater variety of relics of so many diversified cultures than are found here.* Before entering too far, however, into a discussion of the aboriginal occupation of this region, it may be well to classify the various bands of people whom we shall mention. This is necessary, since not only are there variations in stocks but also differences in divisions of stocks.

The Huron-Iroquois family embraced the various Huron tribes, the divisions of the Cherokee, the bands of Tuscarora, the Susquehannock, and Andaste tribes (afterward called Mingos and Conestogas), the Neutral, the Erie, the Wennroh, the Seneca, and the other four Iroquois tribes, the Cayuga, the Onondaga, the Oneida and the Mohawk. The Seneca and Eries, and, perhaps, some smaller divisions, were very likely the Massawomecks whom Captain John Smith met. It is a well known fact to ethnologists that the Senecas differed more than any other tribe from the remainder of the confederated Iroquois and never were in complete harmony with them.

The great Algonquin stock covered a wide stretch of territory and embraced a large number of tribes. Those which inhabited this region or affected its culture were the Delawares or Lenni Lenapi with their several sub-tribes, the principal ones being the Munsee, the Unami, and the Unlachtigo. Other Algonquins were the Nanticoke, the Conoy, the Shawnee, and the Mahikan. Each of these divisions were divided into still smaller bands.

Two other linguistic stocks which influenced this area were the Muskhogean and the Siouan. The representatives of the latter are the Catawba or Tuteli and of the former the

*Compare Dr. F. C. Johnson's article on "Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupation of the Wyoming Valley." Proceedings W. H. and G. Soc., Vol. VIII, pp. 119-182.

Chickasaw. The Catawba were the most important branch of the eastern Sioux. They were first mentioned by Vanderader in 1579. He called them Isse, a name derived from the Catawba, *iswa*, meaning river. The Chickasaw belong to the same stock as the Choctaw, Creek and Seminole. The Chickasaw practised head flattening.

These stocks and tribes have been enumerated not only to classify them but to emphasize that the territory occupied by these peoples was of vast expanse, reaching from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Laurentian basin to the Gulf of Mexico. A knowledge of all these things is necessary in order to appreciate the factors which influenced the customs and art of the people who lived here. With this knowledge at hand we are prepared to examine the sites of former Indian occupations and the relics of those occupations.

The earliest known tribes inhabiting this valley, as is well known, were the Susquehannocks. The name Susquehannock, however, is a generic term and includes without doubt several tribes of Iroquoian stock, notably the Andastes. These people at the time they were first visited by Captain John Smith, had an alliance with the Algonquins on the east shores of the Chesapeake but were enemies of those on the west side. The Iroquois of the north had warred upon the Susquehannocks for many years and brought about their downfall in 1675. In accord with their custom the Iroquois denationalized them. According to Colden they were settled among the Oneidas and when completely *Iroquoised* were sent back to the town of Conestoga. It will be perceived that the words *Conestoga* and *Andaste* are both derivatives of a single word, *Kanastoge*, meaning place of the sunken pole. At the town to which the dwindled band was sent they wasted gradually until they were but a score.

In 1763 this handful of a once mighty nation was destroyed. A band of white men, known as the Paxtang Boys, murdered them, wantonly, the poor Conestogas being a

peaceful, unresisting band.* It must not be thought, however, that the blood of the Conestogas or the Susquehannocks is entirely blotted out. It still flows in the veins of many an Oneida in Wisconsin, Ontario and New York. The tribe of Susquehannock, or Conestoga, whichever you may chose to call it, alone is extinct and not the blood.

In the "Character of the Province of Maryland", by George Alsop, the Susquehannocks are described in the following words:

"They are a people looked upon by the Christian inhabitants as the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that dwell upon the confines of America."

Such were the people conquered by the Iroquois, and it cannot be denied that those who were absorbed must have added a valuable element to the conquering race. Every writer speaks of these Indians in the most glowing terms. The description which Captain John Smith has left us is a most valuable one not only from the standpoint of history but also of ethnology. He remarks in his "General History of Virginia":*

"Such great and well proportioned men are seldom seen, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seem of a simple and honest disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as Gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries both in language and attire; for their language it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of beares and wolves, some have cossacks made of beares heads and skinnes that a man's head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe, the halfe sleeves coming

*Some authorities dispute that the Conestogas were always a well behaved band of people.

*Smith, John. General History of Virginia. Chapter VI.

to the elbowes were the neckes of beares, and their arms through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chain for a jewell, his tobacco pipe, three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deare or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with bowes, arrowes, and clubs, suitable to their greatness. These are scarce known to Powhatan. They can make 600 able men and are pallisadoed in their townes to defend them from the Massawomekes, their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefs Werowanace came aboard vs and crossed the bay in their barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we had ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks comb. His arrowes were five quarters long, headed with splinters of white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe more long. These he wore in a woolues skinne at his backs for his quiver, his bow in one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described."

The descriptions of the bear and wolf skin robes tally with the remnants of such things which I have found in Erie graves in western New York. The carved pipes which Smith described are frequently found in the Iroquoian regions and especially in the older sites, both on the surface and in graves. These, of course, are of stone. The Cherokee, a related people, also made effigy pipes, but none of these should be confused with the effigy pipes of the mound builder culture, which are of another type. The name Werowanace, mentioned by Smith as the title of the Chiefs, is significant, for it is an Iroquoian word and similar in primitive derivation to the Seneca *Hasanowannace*, meaning *a name exalted*.

The Susquehannocks held this region for a longer period

than any known tribe, but they had not always held it. At various times after their conquest their ancient territory was occupied by the Delaware, the Monsey, the Swanee, the Nanticoke, the Mehogan, the Wanamense, the Chickasaw and the Tutelo. All these bands were placed here as denationalized tribes and vassals of the Iroquois.

It seems most improbable that these peoples, coming from so many widely separated points, should not have brought with them their own peculiar arts and forms of decoration. It was for this reason that I stated that relics of several diverse cultures should be found here. The bundle burials of the Nanticokes should be found if they continued their customs after their arrival here. The flattened heads of the Chickasaws should be found with relics showing Muskhogean influence. Indeed, these skulls have been found near Plainsville. The peculiar forms of Tutelo culture should be found where they once lived and the Algonquian pottery and other artifacts of the Delaware and Minsis should be brought to light.

It would be a most interesting work to chart all the known sites of former Indian occupancy and to endeavor to name the occupying tribe and give the name of the village itself. No doubt many sites would be encountered to which no name could be given nor even the name of the tribe that held it given. The sites of unknown peoples, however, should prove a most interesting study and afford an interesting basis of comparison.

The culture history of the Susquehannock-Iroquois and their relation to cognate tribes has never been fully studied and there never seems to have been a systematic attempt to excavate known Susquehannock sites with the purpose of discovering the material facts of that culture. There are several interesting problems to be solved and a host of material to be collected. This must be done now or it can never be done. Sites are constantly being covered with the alluvium from floods or with the refuse of commerce.

Towns and cities, railroad cuts and gradings cover and destroy these priceless bits of pre-history, obliterating knowledge for all time. Our descendants will cry shame and blame us for our heedless neglect, and they will have just cause for complaint. A museum like this can never be too busy, but it cannot get busy without money. The money reason is the one which ties the hands of most historical societies and compels them to see the treasures of time lost forever. I have thus digressed to say and to emphasize that the peculiar archeologic duty which falls upon this Society is to solve the problem of the Susquehannocks so far as they within your province lie. To the splendid beginning which has been made in the way of research and collecting let there be a strong following.

ABORIGINAL ARTIFACTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE WYOMING
HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY SHOWING
IROQUOIAN INFLUENCE.

Among the various interesting archeological specimens found in this general region and now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, similar to those of Iroquoian origin in New York State are celts and adzes, chipped stone arrow points and knives, stone hammers, net sinkers, pottery vessels, shell runtees, tortoise rattles, a bone comb fragment, a brass or copper spiral. There are also other objects of exceptional interest which will be mentioned later in this paper. A preliminary study of these objects was made some weeks ago through the courtesy of your Corresponding Secretary.

Celts. The ungrooved axes and adzes, or celts as they are usually called, found in the Iroquoian regions of New York are of various sizes and types. Some are only an inch and a half long and others reach nine or ten inches or more. There are several interesting forms in the collections of this Society which while rare here are fairly common in some parts of New York. Among these is the flat water-washed pebble

fashioned by nature so that it needs only the work of grinding an edge to complete it as a chisel or small celt. This class of edge implements consists of two classes, that just described and which is well proportioned as a small celt, and the long slivers of shale sharpened on one end. There are several of these in the Wren collection. This latter type I have found only on sites occupied by the Eries. They have been found by others elsewhere, but not commonly.

Another type common in central New York, especially in the Seneca country, is the adz form; that is a celt having one side flat and the other beveled in flat planes. There is one specimen of this form in the Wren collection and several in the general collection. The Wren specimen was found at the mouth of the Susquehanna. In New York celts of this type range from specimens having well defined beveled sides with flat planes to high rounded specimens having no flat planes whatever. Like many primitive implements the forms, pronounced as they may be, grade almost imperceptibly into one another.

The celt, however, is not purely or entirely an Iroquoian implement. It is not even American Indian, but a universal form of an ungrooved axe common to all peoples who lived in the stone age culture. And when we say stone age we do not mean any precise age in the world's history, for many peoples still live in the stone age, just as many others, now civilized, did ten thousand years ago.

One of the common colloquial names for implements of this class is "skinning stones", although they are sometimes also called "deer skinners" and "fleshers". It is not impossible that an ungrooved axe or adz might have been used for the purpose of peeling off an animal's hide, but I have yet to learn of an historical reference to the fact. On the other hand, these implements have been found in New York State and elsewhere in original hafts, or handles of wood, plainly showing them to have been axes. Nor is it even necessary to examine these specimens almost miraculously preserved by

muck or peat, to determine their use as axes. Explorers have found them in use not only on this continent but in the islands of the Pacific and in other regions where men have not reached civilization.

To cut down a tough grained tree with one of these dull edged stone hatchets is, of course, a well nigh impossible feat. The Indian, however, in common with savage man, universal, knew how to make natural agencies do the work of muscle. He built a fire at the base of a tree and when the flames had eaten into the wood he chopped out the charcoal with the stone hatchet to give the fire a fresh surface and then waited for the flames to make more charcoal. This process repeated soon brought even a large tree to the ground, as I, myself, know by experiment. Modern civilized man scarcely realized the immense utility of fire to his primitive ancestor, nor the extent to which he employed it.

Among the interesting specimens of celts I find several in the collection which clearly show the three processes which they underwent,—the chipping to give form, the picking to reduce uneven masses, and the abrading or polishing process to give polish and remove surfaces not reducable by picking. Some of these rude, unfinished specimens are worth far more than some finished specimens for what they teach of primitive arts.

There is another rare form of the so-called celt which I find represented by one specimen in the Wren collection. It consists of a long slender bar of polished black slate sharpened on either end. The Wren specimen is ten inches in length and elliptical in cross-section. The writer in 1906 proposed the name bar celt¹ for this type of implements, of which a number have been found in various places. They are not common in New York, the State Museum of New York having but four specimens, one of which is broken. Two of these, in perfect condition, I was fortunate enough

¹Parker, A. C. Excavations in an Erie Indian Village and Burial Site, p. 533. N. Y. State Museum, Bulletin 117.

to discover in Chautauqua county, N. Y. One of them came from the grave of an Erie woman in the site excavated under my direction in 1906. It is interesting to note that the Wren specimen was also found in a grave, but not one of a known occupation.² According to information furnished by Mr. Wren, his bar celt was found in 1888 in a grave within about an eighth of a mile of a site known to have been occupied at different times. "In going over village sites some years ago with Mr. O. J. Harvey," writes Mr. Wren, "for use in his history of Wilkes-Barre, I locating them from signs I had actually seen on the ground and he referring to an unpublished diary of Count Zinzendorf, we came to this location. The Indians pointed out this burial place to Zinzendorf and told him they did not know anything about the people buried in it, as the graves were there before their time."

Similar implements have been found in Jefferson county, St. Lawrence county, three at least in Chautauqua county, and one or two in the Seneca lake region in New York State. The fact that the two specimens have been found in graves, one of which is positively Iroquoian and the other probably such, indicates their use by an Iroquoian people. As all of the sites where these grave specimens were found are of an early Iroquoian occupancy, it seems safe to say that they are relics of the culture possessed by the Iroquois when they came east. The northern New York specimens would belong to the prehistoric Mohawks, or more likely the early Onondagas, who had not yet shaken off their original influences. The western New York specimens, no doubt, belonged to the Iroquois who skirted the shores of Lake Erie and who were separated from the Laurentian Iroquois, while the Wyoming Valley specimen probably belonged to the Iroquois, who early held this region. If this is true, we might

²"Shupp's Graveyard" on Boston Hill, Plymouth township, Luzerne county, Pa. See Wren, *Stone Age*, Proc. Wyoming Hist. and Geo. Soc. 1904, p. 108.

look for similar specimens in the Mississippi Valley, where the Iroquois are said to have lived or through which they passed in their long journey for a permanent home in the east. Specimens, indeed, have been found in Tennessee and one is described by General Thruston in his "Antiquities of Tennessee." We may look for them elsewhere and note their occurrence with interest, for they may furnish an interesting clue to the early home of the Iroquois stock.

OTHER IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

There are several specimens of abrading or sinew, stones in the collections of your Society which are similar to those in New York. These stones are either natural pieces of sandstone, or broken and sometimes complete celts, having grooves deeply worn, first by sharp stones and later by the sinews which were drawn through them to even down the cord or thread. Perhaps awls also were rubbed in the grooves to sharpen their dulled points.

The stone hammers, both massive and pitted, and the net sinkers of the ordinary type in your collections are similar in every way to those found in New York State. The large circular net sinkers, which seem peculiar to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, of course, are not found in New York in the quantities which they are here.

CHIPPED STONE IMPLEMENTS AND HOW THEY WERE MADE.

The most numerous articles in any considerable archeological collection, in our region at least, are those of chipped stone, popularly termed flint implements. Thus we find numerous and varied forms of chipped implements in the collections of this Society. Many of these implements are most worthy of study and description.

To the uninformed a gracefully shaped and delicately chipped Indian arrow head represents the product of a wonderful lost art. It seems almost impossible that the beautiful specimen could have been made by an Indian possessing only rude means of making anything. It is an

erroneous idea, however, to suppose that the American who centuries ago made such an arrow head was untutored or ignorant of the best possible of tools needed for flint chipping. In many instances with the tools which we call rude he produced a finer specimen of stone chipping than could a modern lapidary with all his modern appliances.

Some hard cutting material is a necessary adjunct to the progress of any people, primitive or enlightened. Since primitive man was not acquainted with the use of metal, it is natural that he should utilize stone, which was abundant everywhere. The use of sharp pieces of naturally broken stone probably led him to break stones, and using such pieces for cutting suggested other uses by modifying the form.

Early man in all probability used natural pebbles as throwing weapons, and natural clubs of wood for striking. His use of pieces of wood for thrusting suggested the spear-shaft, and his experience with cutting stones suggested the spear-head, with which he could more easily kill game or provide himself with a weapon of defense or attack. The game killed required a knife for dressing it and sharp tools were necessary for scraping and cutting skins for garments. Cutting tools were also essential in shaping soft stone into pots, for making wooden vessels, for cutting trees, making bone implements and drilling holes. The pressing need of early man for so many things gave rise to the art of stone-chipping.

Although many relics of the ancient American remain in the soil all about us, the ordinary observer passes by unnoticed the pottery fragment, or the bone implement, and picks from the ploughed field or water-washed bank the arrow head which excites his greater admiration.

The first requisite for making a good chipped implement is appropriate material. The stone must be hard and have conchoidal fracture. It must chip at an acute angle to the medial plane of the mass. The less the angle, the more

workable the stone. Flint or chert, quartz, jasper, chalcedony, obsidian, felsite, and argillite are all types of stone having a conchoidal fracture.

To chip properly, the stone should be obtained from a moist place, such as the sea or lake shore, the damp earth, or from veins of rock below the surface exposure.

Large pebbles were used and larger masses quarried and broken into fragments. These fragments, chipped roughly into blank forms or "blades", were carried into camp for completion. Concerning the quarries of the ancient American, Dr. W. H. Holmes, in "Arrows and Arrowmakers", in the "American Anthropologist" for January, 1891, says: "In Arkansas there are pits dug in solid rock—a heavily bedded novaculite—to a depth of twenty-five feet and having a width of a hundred feet or more. In Ohio and other States similar phenomena have been observed. In the District of Columbia extensive quarries were opened in gravel-bearing bluffs, and millions of quartzite and quartz boulders secured and worked. The extent of native quarrying has not until recently been realized. Such work has been considered beyond the capacity of savages; and when ancient pits were observed, they were usually attributed to gold hunters of early days, and in the south are still known as 'Spanish diggings'. From Maine to Oregon, from Alaska to Peru, hills and mountains are scarred with pits and trenches. The ancient methods of quarrying are not known, and up to the present time no tools have been discovered, save rude stone hammers, improvised for the purpose. Picks of bones and pikes of wood were probably used."

Flint Ridge in Ohio and the Fort Erie, Ontario, quarries are fairly well known. I do not find, however, that any mention has been made of the numerous aboriginal "flint" quarries in Pennsylvania, except by Mr. A. F. Berlin in Moorheads "Prehistoric Implements", p. 187. Your Curator of Archeology tells me that there are about 2,000 such quarries alone in Lehigh and Berks counties, Pa. Specimens of

the material from these quarries are to be found in the Wren collection of your Society.

To determine how arrow heads and other chipped implements were made, it is only necessary to watch the process among modern Indians who still remember the art. There are also several good descriptions contained in books by travelers, among them Catlin. The Iroquois generally have forgotten the art and inquiries will bring but meagre information. A few, however, remember the fundamental principles but the majority look upon an arrow or spear head of flint with as much wonder as does the ordinary Yankee farmer.

In the description which follows I have combined previously known facts regarding the chipping of flint-like stones with other facts gleaned from a series of experiments conducted by myself under the direction of Professor F. W. Putnam, in the American Museum of Natural History. These results were embodied in a paper which has never been published. Much of the description which follows later is taken from this paper. In the description of the various processes the reader must understand that where positive statements of methods are made that these methods were those used in experiments and are in accord with methods known to have been used.

The tools used in shaping arrow heads were few and simple, consisting merely of a stone hammer and a flaker. For larger implements a stone anvil, a pad of skins, and a pitching tool, were used in addition. The flaker was one of the most important tools in the process and with it the most delicate work was done.

In making an arrow head the arrow maker chose, for instance, an oval pebble measuring approximately four inches in length, two inches and a half in width and three-quarters of an inch thick. He held the pebble in his left hand, palm downward, the pebble projecting about an inch over his thumb. The hammer was held in his right hand, palm



Fig. 1. Position of the hands in chipping a quartz or flint pebble or flake. Note the grip of the fingers on the pits in the hammer-stone.



Fig. 2. Position of the hands in flaking quartz or flint with a bone or antler flaking tool.



toward the left (see figure 1). He struck a quick, smart blow on the projecting edge of the pebble at the point indicated in the figure. A large chip flew off, starting at the point of percussion, and running on the under side, gradually thinning and widening as it progressed. This operation was repeated all around the stone. Then the chipped pebble was reversed. The chipping having been successful, the portion chipped away on one side of a surface met that on the other side of the same surface, and the edges became sharp. The flaker (figure 2) now came into requisition. It was a piece of deer antler, or, perhaps, of bone, as either would answer, and had a roughened surface. A point near the end of the flaker was pressed against the sharp edge of the stone so that the flaker was indented (see figure 2). The pressure of the flaker was against the stone and upward, while the stone was pressed against it and downward. A quick turn of the wrists inward and downward brought off a chip. In this way the arrow point was given definite outline. That bone or antler should be the chief instrument in flaking stone seems at first strange, and yet it was the most important factor in the process. An antler pitching tool was useful in taking off long flakes.

In the manufacture of a large spear head, the pebble, which is too large to be easily held in the hand, was placed upon the pad of skins which rested upon the stone anvil, the object of this pad being to provide a yielding base; this also was one reason for holding the smaller stone in the hand. The notches in the arrow point were made by making a small chip at the proper place, reversing the blade, and chipping again until the notch was "eaten in". Large stone chips required only the use of the antler or bone flaker to transform them into shapely points. Often many hundred of unfinished chipped blades were made and stored in the earth, afterward being dug up and flaked into any shape that necessity required. A fine cache of forty-eight jasper specimens in your collection was found in Nescopeck

township in the year 1908. It was formerly believed that cache blades were buried for safety only, but it is now understood that they were also placed in the damp earth to absorb and retain the moisture that keeps the stone elastic and easy to flake.

It must not be supposed that the arrow maker was successful in finishing every blade. Often a blow would cause an abrupt fracture or take off too large a chip. This all depended upon the character of the stone and the skill of the operator. Unsuccessful attempts were cast aside and are technically called "rejects". Many hundreds of these may be found on old Indian quarry and camp sites.

The usual chipped implements are the knife, spear point, arrow point, drill, and scraper, each kind of implement varying in size and form. The drill is long and narrow, having rough but sharp edges, generally broad at its base, and was used to perforate soft stone, bone and wood. It was sharpened automatically, for as soon as an edge became dulled the increased resistance caused the material that it was drilling to act as a flaker and compelled a flake to fly off, thereby giving a new edge. The scraper was made from a large chip, flaked so as to be bevelled on one side like a chisel. Many scrapers were made from broken arrow and spear points. It was sometimes fastened to a handle and used to scrape wood, bone, and skin. The different forms of spear heads and knives and arrow points grade into each other, often making it impossible to name the exact use of a particular specimen. Perhaps they were used to a considerable extent interchangeably. Knives were of many forms, the chief characteristics being the finely bevelled sharp cutting edge. Some were made so as to fit into a handle and others to be held in the hand. The spear was much longer than the arrow point and designed to be fastened to a shaft. Spear heads or points were among the most beautiful specimens of the chipper's art. They have

been found in abundance on sites of great antiquity, confirming the theory that the arrow point is more modern than the spear. The arrow point could only be used in conjunction with a throwing stick or with a bow, and there is every reason to believe that the arrow was evolved from the spear.

The arrow head appears in as many varied forms as design and accident could create. It was made from stone, colored by all the hues nature produces—red, pink, yellow, blue, green, black, and white—and often from quartz crystal. Different peoples to a certain extent had different styles and individuals often their own particular "brand". The arrow head was made for all the varied uses to which a missile of its kind could be put. Special arrows were likely used for large and for small game, for birds, for fish, and for war, but to venture to define these would be simply guesswork. An ingenious device was the bevel head. The cross-section of a bevel head is rhomboidal. For a long time it was thought that this form was but an accident in the method of flaking, but I am told that experiments made at the Smithsonian Institution are said to have shown that the bevel head flies with a rotary motion, so that it not only goes more directly, but on striking an object literally bores a hole into it. This seems to require further investigation, however. The "fishing point" is long, narrow, and slender. It was designed to be shot into the water at the fish. The small points were made from small chippings with a small flaker. War points are thought to have been fastened loosely to the shaft so that they could not be pulled out of the flesh, even though the shaft were withdrawn. Blunt arrow heads, or "bunts", were used to hit objects without penetrating them. Such bunts were often made of broken points reflaked.

The arrow has ceased to play an important part in hunting or warfare, the bullet having superseded it. The bullet, however, is the evolution of the arrow head, its mission is

the same, and the principle which governs it is the same. Ancient as well as modern man was aware that a small, heavy object, swiftly propelled, could go where a larger one thrown by hand could not go, and that it would do more damage.

From the hand spear to the arrow—after the bow was known—was but a step; then came the cross-bow and bolt; then the rude musket and bullet. The bullet, being heavier and propelled more swiftly, needed no shaft, nevertheless it is but an arrow head in another form.

A SCOTCH SILVER ORNAMENT.

There is in the collection of this Society a simple little ornament of silver which, I dare say, is overlooked by the majority of visitors without a passing thought. It is, nevertheless, a most important specimen, and while it is not even of Indian origin, it is a specimen of a class of ornaments which greatly influenced the Iroquois and other eastern Indians. I refer to the heart and crown brooch in the case of the Col. Zebulon Butler collection. This specimen is the first which it has been my fortune to see in any American collection.* The brooch is plainly of European manufacture and is one of a class of Scotch ornaments or buckles which gave rise to the Iroquois art of silversmithing. For half a century or more among the most interesting specimens of Iroquois ornaments have been their silver brooches. Of a great variety of forms and of several sizes, these brooches or buckles have long attracted the attention of collectors. Though abundant fifty years ago and common twenty years ago, the great activity of collectors has stripped the Iroquois of these relics until few remain, and these are prized heirlooms. That the Iroquois made them is certain. There is no question about this, for several collectors, notably Mrs. H. M. Converse, Mr. M. R. Harrington and myself have collected sets of tools used in their manufacture, and

*This specimen is doubly interesting because it is decorated on either side.

the old silversmiths who sold their rusty chisels and dies demonstrated how the brooches were made. In the set which I was fortunate enough to get were even tin boxes filled with the clippings and filings of the beaten silver coins from which the Iroquois silversmiths cut the brooches.

The origin of the art has puzzled students of Iroquois ethnology and as far as I am able to discover I have been the only one to hit upon a clue and follow it to Scotland. In a paper as yet unpublished I remark:

"Iroquois silversmithing and silver work are subjects worthy of the attention of ethnologists. Silver brooches are among the most sought for of the later day products of Iroquois art. Beauchamp, Converse and Harrington have each interesting accounts of the brooches but none of them has indicated how the Iroquois first obtained their knowledge of silver working or have suggested how the patterns of the most common forms were secured. Mrs. Converse wrote: 'I fail to find in illustrations of jewelry ornamentation of either the French, English or Dutch, designs that have been actually followed in the hammered coin brooch of the Iroquois.' Harrington remarks in his excellent paper, the best yet issued on the subject: 'Before concluding, a few words concerning the art of silversmithing among the Iroquois may not be out of place. Of course, such a discussion must necessarily be almost entirely theoretical. Taking the brooches first, it seems possible that we may look for their ultimate origin in the ornaments of copper, mica and other materials, thought to have been sewed or tied upon garments as ornaments by many tribes of the precolonial period. As Beauchamp says, 'Apparently the brooch was the evolution from the gorget for some (early) ornaments of this kind were tied on, not buckled.' He mentions and figures such a crude broochlike ornament of copper found on an Onondaga site of 1677. It is difficult to surmise how the buckle tongue fastening originated, or if borrowed whence it came. Perhaps the idea was in some way derived from

the old-fashioned shoe or belt buckle of the colonists. Examining the patterns, the Masonic type speaks for itself, as being clearly of European origin; but other forms are not so easily traced. The heart type surmounted by an apparent crown looks suspiciously European also; but we cannot prove that the heart, which occurs so often in all kinds of Iroquois carving and bead work, is not a pattern native to the people. The crown-shaped ornament above possibly represents a feathered headdress, or sometimes an owl's head. * * *

This paragraph embraces a summary of all that recognized writers have yet said about the origin of the Iroquois silver brooch. Correspondence with the National Museum of Antiquities of Edinburgh brought the information that for many years brooches precisely like the primary types found among the Iroquois had been made in Scotland and were called Luckenbooth brooches, from the Luckenbooths about St. Giles Church, where they were sold. Further research revealed that these brooches were shipped in quantities to America by English and Scotch traders about 1755, and sold and traded to the Indians about the great lakes. Some of them, similar to the one in the collection of this Society, were actually found in a mound in Wisconsin, where they had been buried with the remains of a modern Indian.

The Iroquois, so far as inquiry goes, were the only Indians to actually copy these ornaments and produce them themselves. Reworking a pattern and inventing new designs of their own, they produced brooches by the thousands and traded them in many quarters. The fashion spread widely and the desire for brooches became a passion among the Indians of the east, the height of the craze being about 1850, when there was a rapid decline. The art of making them became extinct shortly after the Civil War.

*Extracted from Parker, A. C. Iroquois Silversmithing. Manuscript in N. Y. State Museum. (See Museum Report, 1908.)



Obverse and reverse of the "Luckenbooth brooch"
from the Ethnological Collection of this Society.



Seneca brooch, presented to the Society by Mr.
Parker, as used in his family for many years.



The greatest change from a stated original type is to be found in the case of the Masonic emblem which the Iroquois copied and recopied until in some brooches the original motive can scarcely be detected. In some cases the square and compasses, with the arc of a circle, and the sun and moon, are represented. From this the Indian designers wrought the arc into the sky-road, made heaven holding pillars of the compass and a council fire from the other parts of the design. Then to completely change the emblem it was worn upside down.

The heart and crown brooch in the collection of this Society, was made, if we are to judge by the data upon it, in 1794, which is about the time during which the Iroquois obtained the greatest quantity from traders. The Iroquois silversmiths seldom put any inscriptions on their brooches, unless a few conventional dots and lines may be construed as hieroglyphs. To put names and dates, as well as rhymes or "posies" on their brooches, was, however, a common custom with the Scotch. The Luckenbooth brooch in the possession of this Society bears the inscription: "Nathl— and Celia Sykes, 1774." Dr. Joseph Anderson, Curator of the Edinburgh Museum, describes another brooch of this same type, on which is inscribed: "Wrong not the [heart] whose joy thou art." The missing word *heart* is supplied by the form of the heart in the brooch. Brooches of this type are used by the Scotch as love and marriage tokens, but the Iroquois thought them to be owls that symbolized watchfulness "when the sun goes under the sky".

The facts which I have just mentioned will place the Iroquois brooches in a new light before ethnologists and for this reason the brooch in your possession becomes of special interest. If there are no specimens in your collections to tell of Iroquoian influence on the ethnology of this region, there is at least a specimen which tells of Scotch influence on the Iroquois.

IROQUOIAN POTTERY VESSELS AND RELATED FORMS.

Among the most important classes of articles in the collections of your society are those of baked clay or pottery. Pottery, broadly speaking, consists of two divisions,—vessels and tobacco pipes. There are other objects of pottery, but for the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to mention them.

Entire pottery vessels are rare in the North Atlantic coast States and those bordering upon them. This is a fact recognized by every authority. It was for this reason that your Secretary, Harrison Wright, in 1883, described those in this Society's cabinet. It remained for Mr. Christopher Wren, however, to describe in detail the pottery of this region. This excellent treatise, which has proven of great use to many students, makes it easier for me to give an estimate of Iroquoian influence.

The products of the ceramic art represent a distinct and substantial advance in the achievements of the people which acquired it. From a collection of vessels and fragments from a given culture one may obtain a knowledge of the ideas of form, symmetry and decoration held by the pot-makers. A perfect knowledge, of course, cannot be obtained, for there seems to have been some fixed principle that governed pot decoration in this region. The plastic sides of the unbaked vessel certainly invited the potters' talent for decoration, but in most cases we find only the markings of a cord-wrapped paddle or smoothing tool on the body of the pot, and conventional lines, dots and scallops on the neck, rim and collar. Except in rare instances life forms do not appear except on Iroquois pots from sites dating between 1590 and 1630. As far as I have been able to discover I believe that no attempt has ever been made to explain the reason for such a custom. I may be criticized but I venture this explanation. To the Iroquois, and to the Algonquins in all probability, the making of a life representation, an effigy or a drawing of any kind, carried with it the

idea that the spirit of the thing would enter the representation and become sensible to good or evil treatment. The soul of the man or the spirit of the animal drawn upon a pot, therefore, would feel the biting of the flames, and feeling the insult straightway bring some dire catastrophe upon the head of the offender. Those unacquainted with Iroquois ideas as they still survive, have little idea how they regard images and mysterious drawings. There is a field for interesting research in this subject. The prevalent theory of forms is that advanced by Frank Cushing, that pot forms are determined by the receptacle which preceded the use or discovery of the use of clay for pottery. The Iroquois pot, according to the theory of Cushing, is influenced in its form by a hypothetical bark vessel which preceded it. As a vessel I do not know where Cushing obtained the data upon which he based the drawing which has so often been copied. The bark basket which he represents is certainly not used by the Iroquois now, nor do I find any record of its use by Iroquois people. A similar form, without the stitched neck, was used by the Algonquins, and specimens of Algonquin bark baskets are in the collections of the New York State Museum. Iroquois baskets of this type were of elm bark and had a rim of hickory sewed on with inner elm or bass wood bark.

The entire pottery vessels from the Susquehanna Valley in the possession of this Society, consists, as might be expected, of two types, the Iroquoian and the Algonquian, with an intermediate form presumably of Algonquin make. The Iroquois form is represented in the Ross pot in your collection. (Figure 5.) This vessel is typical of the Mohawk Valley in New York, although it was found in a rock shelter near the falls of the Wallenpaupack. A related form, the Reynolds pot, is Iroquoian in its form and decoration, but the technique of the design is so unusual that it may have been made by an Algonquin (see figure 6). In the pot illustrated in figure 7 we have the example of an Algonquin pot

in which the potter has endeavored to copy the Iroquois collar and decorations but with poor success. The pot is a fine example of the mixed type and is probably unique.

The pot illustrated in figure 8 is a good example of a purely Algonquin pot from the Susquehanna watershed.* In most respects it is similar to Algonquin pots found elsewhere.

The series which I have mentioned is, perhaps, entirely unique and the Algonquin vessels in your possession without equal in number or interest in any collection. Algonquin pots, like Algonquin skulls, are mostly found in fragments, while Iroquois heads seem lively to-day and Iroquois pots fairly numerous. I, myself, have found more than a hundred entire Iroquois pots, but have helped find only one broken specimen of the Algonquin type from Algonquin territory. In Iroquois territory, however, I have found entire jars that seem Algonquian in form and technique. Possibly they were made by captives.

A TORTOISE RATTLE.

Many objects left by the Indians are most puzzling. To attempt to guess their use may lead to great confusion, while a review of known facts as recorded by historians is apt to be equally confusing, for in most cases historians were not ethnologists and saw little use in noting minute details. Yet we are often compelled to use the data of the careless historian as final evidence. All this merely emphasizes the necessity of studying the critically surviving vestiges of aboriginal cultures. Archeology must be interpreted in the light of ethnology, if ethnology will furnish the particular light which we desire.

*The great mass of potsherds from the Wyoming Valley seem to indicate a longer Algonquin occupation than we generally have recognized. Of the collection of fifteen pots in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, twelve have been illustrated in Vols. 1 and 2 of the Proceedings of the Society.

Indian Pots from the Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Wilkes-Barré, Penn'a.

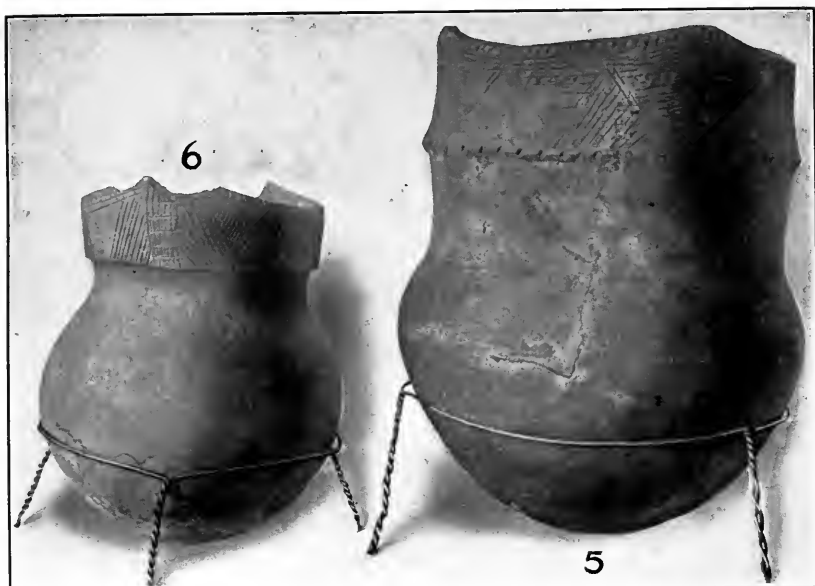


Fig. 5. The Ross Pot. Proceedings of the Society, Vol. 1.
Fig. 6. The Reynolds Pot from North Mountain.

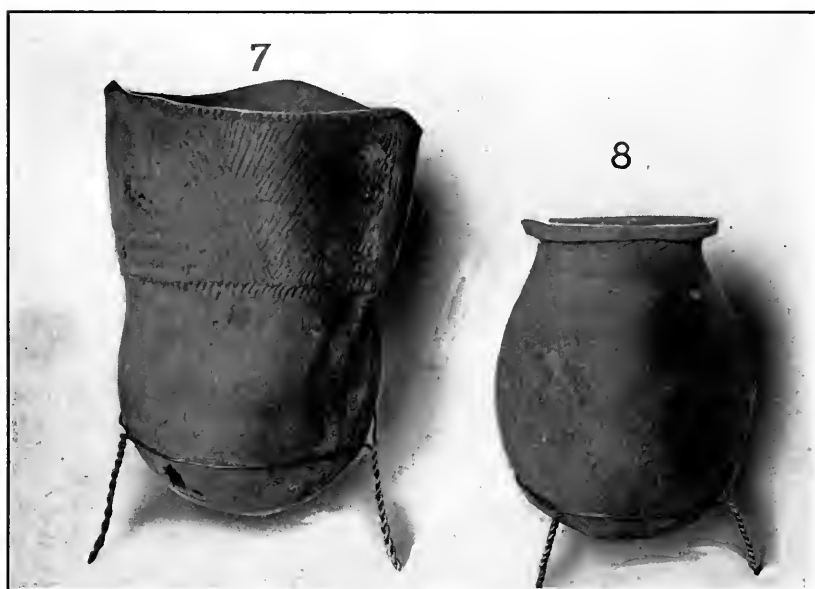


Fig. 7. White Haven Pot.

Fig. 8. Tioga Pot.



One of the puzzling articles to which I refer is a tortoise shell carapace, evidently the remains of a rattle, found in a grave at Athens, Pa. This rattle has been described in papers read before your Society by Dr. Harrison Wright, and by Christopher Wren. The conclusions which Mr. Wren reached regarding it are absolutely the best obtainable from the data available. I am fortunately more or less of an Indian myself and a member of some of the Iroquois folk societies. It is, therefore, of no special credit to my intelligence that I am able to state, with some degree of positiveness, that the rattle in question is not one of a type used in the Great Feather Dance ceremony, but one used, in all probability, by the Tonwi'sas Company, a sisterhood devoted to the propitiation of the spirits of growth and the harvest. You see that Iroquois women had secret societies long ago and have them now. Rattles of this character were used in their ceremonies and only this type of rattles. The rattles used by the Great Feather Dancers was the rattle made from a large snapping turtle, with the neck extended to form a handle, the sternum being painted red. A similar rattle without the painted sternum was and is used by the False Face Company. The publication of these facts, with many others bearing on Iroquois life and ceremony, no doubt will clear many vexing questions. The State Museum of New York will publish such a volume in a few years. A great quantity of manuscript is only awaiting compilation, and annotation to make it ready for the public.

The tortoise rattle, therefore, tells of a unique side of Iroquois influence in the Susquehanna Valley,—that of the Iroquois woman and of her secret sorority, the Tonwi'sas. Like most women's societies, however, after a while it becomes necessary for a man or two to enter. A Tonwi'sas lodge in necessary for a man or two to enter. A Tonwi'sas lodge in one was carried off bodily by the Cherokee and it cost a lot of blood and wampum, not to speak of suffering, to get the women back. Thereafter the sisters had two well qualified

warriors accompany them as escorts. These escorts carry implements of death, however, not tortoise rattles. Anyone may see the annual ceremony of the Tonwi'sas at a mid-winter thanksgiving ceremony of the Senecas. There are several rattles similar to the Athens, Pa., specimen in the State of Museum of New York, which came from Seneca graves in Ontario and Erie counties. These are precisely like the specimens now in use by the members of the Tonwi'sas.

BONE COMBS.

Another bone object of interest from the Athens site is the bone comb described in detail by Mr. Christopher Wren in a paper read before this Society. Its peculiar interest lies in the fact that it is similar to all bone combs found in Iroquois sites before and a little after 1600. Combs of this character have been found on prehistoric sites of the Seneca and also of the Erie as well as on early sites of the Oneida, Onondaga and Mohawk. The Iroquois did not use fine toothed combs, it is interesting to note, until after the coming of the white invaders.

There is in the Christopher Wren collection a bone awl, near three inches long, the only one, I believe, in the collections of your Society. It comes from a grave at Plymouth and is similar in every way to Iroquois and Algonquin awls, and, indeed, similar to the awls of the early Britons or Swiss Lake dwellers, for that matter, for so simple a tool is it that its form would occur to any one needing a sharp, piercing implement of bone. The New York State Museum possesses many hundreds of specimens of bone awls from all portions of the State. The Iroquois used them in great quantities and probably for several purposes. Refuse pits in certain places often contain from one to thirty or more of these awls, some of them beautifully polished. That so many should have been lost by accident seems most improbable. Some custom, or folk-belief, must

have influenced the practise of casting awls and other implements in refuse pits. It was a common custom of the Iroquois to offer as a propitiation to animals which they had killed certain trinkets. These trinkets and other things, such as were offered, were thrown upon a small fire, and a sprinkle of tobacco thrown upon the flames or smouldering coals as the case might have been. In the earlier times, when the Iroquois brought their game to the village, it seems quite probable that they would throw the sacrifice into the fire and refuse pit as an offering. Of course, some might have become lost, but it seems entirely unlikely that the immense quantity of useful objects as are found should have been accidentally overlooked and swept into the pit.

This paper, because of the vastness of the subject, if treated in a detailed way, especially the historical end of the subject, has been prepared largely to suggest what may be done in the future. It is impossible, manifestly, to treat the archeological end of the subject completely in a comparative way since but few excavations have been made, and, therefore, since so much remains to be developed. On the other hand, an historical treatment would be entirely superfluous. One of your members, O. J. Harvey, Esq., has already published so detailed an account of the Indian history of this region and other regions connected with it that his work must forever remain a classic. It has only been possible, therefore, to suggest a plan for work, to recognize the field and to study a few of the specimens which seemed of special interest as a basis for comparison with the Iroquois artifacts found in New York State.

The Iroquois themselves never occupied this valley in the sense of having lived here in settled towns. They controlled it for about a hundred years, and so greatly did they impress themselves upon its history that they will always have a place in it.

To the Iroquois the Wyoming Valley was the asylum of conquered and dependent tribes, the mixing bowl of many

nations from many divergent points. It was the artery through which the Iroquois received the blood which has caused them to persist as a people and maintain their national identity. To-day in the veins of men calling themselves Iroquois runs the blood of all the tribes of the east that were fortunate enough to be conquered by the Iroquois. To-day on the various reservations of the Iroquois in the State of New York and Canada, we find men and women who can trace their ancestry back to the Eries, the Kahkwias, the Shawnese, the Nanticoke, the Tuteli or Catawba, the Sauks, the Delaware, the Mohegan and the Minsi and Munsee. Nor are these all. It should be remembered, also, that the Tuscaroras came to the Iroquois into the Oneida country through this valley, but could not become a represented nation because they "burst into the side of the house" instead of entering the door.

It is now 300 years since first the Iroquois met the white man and each year of these three centuries has been characterized by the increasing encroachments of the invading race. Strong forces of arms, subtle plots and underground legal proceedings, as I said in introducing my subject, have been successively directed against them, but they still exist, —not as a broken people, demoralized and scattered from their ancient seats, but nominally as nations with name and sovereignty, retaining in a large measure their own peculiar culture, and exist as Iroquois and Indians in the very heart of civilization.

The influence of the Wyoming Valley on the Iroquois has been great because of the influence of the Iroquois on the Wyoming Valley has been great.

REMINISCENCES

— OF —

REV. JACOB JOHNSON, M. A.

First Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre,
1772-1790

BY

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PREFACE.

Doubtless of all the pioneers of the Wyoming section of Pennsylvania, no one, excepting Hon. Timothy Pickering, has left material for reminiscences of his times so full and so varied as has the Rev. Jacob Johnson, whose interesting experience as a pioneer missionary and pastor is narrated in the following pages.

The author, his great grandson, has been for years patiently gathering this material together for presentation by publication. The matter covers fully thirty years of active work in the sacred ministry of the Gospel among the Indians of Connecticut and New York, and among the early settlers of North-Eastern Pennsylvania.

That grand old church, the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre, founded by Jacob Johnson, with its many daughters throughout this section, is his best monument. In his connection with this church more historical material

touching his history will be found in the third volume of the "History of Wilkes-Barre," by Oscar Jewell Harvey, Esq., now in press.

The genealogy of Jacob Johnson has already been published in a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, entitled

"Rev. Jacob Johnson of Wallingford (Conn.) and Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) by F. C. Johnson, M. D., Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Member of Wyoming Historical Society; New England Historical and Genealogical Society, etc. 1904."

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE IN CONNECTICUT.

Rev. Jacob Johnson, the pioneer preacher of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., was born April 7, 1713, at Wallingford, Conn., of which place his great-grandfather, Thomas Johnson, the emigrant, and his grandfather, William Johnson, were founders in 1670. He was a son of Jacob and Abigail (Hitchcock) Johnson. Of his early life we have little information. It was his father's desire that he be educated for the ministry of the Congregational Church and he was accordingly sent to Yale College, from which he graduated in 1740 with twenty others as Bachelor of Arts, one-third of them becoming clergymen. The college in 1763 conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts.

His father, also named Jacob, was born at Wallingford, September 25, 1674, and died July 17, 1749.* He was a deputy to the General Assembly in 1763 and is mentioned in some of the Wallingford records as "Sergeant" Jacob Johnson. The mother of Rev. Jacob Johnson was Abigail, daughter of John and Abigail Hitchcock. Abigail, born 1654, was the daughter of Lieut. Nathaniel

*A fuller genealogy of the family has been published by the present writer in a pamphlet entitled "Rev. Jacob Johnson of Wallingford, Conn., and Wilkes-Barre, Pa.," pp. 32. 1904.

Merriman, one of the original proprietors of Wallingford, founded in 1670.

The elder Jacob was a well-to-do farmer, who at his death in 1749 left an estate valued at about £14,000. The inventory of the estate and its distribution to the heirs, recorded at New Haven, shows that Jacob received as his share a piece of land valued at £1,351 and two slaves, "the negro man Dick and the negro woman Deft," valued at £800. With the land was "1-3 part of the mines and minerals in the Hanging Hill woods farm." It is likely that these values were in the inflated currency of that time. In 1768 Rev. Jacob was so poor that it was difficult for him to clothe his family, then resident at Groton, Conn.

The grandfather of Rev. Jacob was William, sometimes mentioned in the ancient records as "Wingle" Johnson. He was a prominent New Haven man and was a deputy to the General Assembly several times. William was one of the original proprietors of Wallingford, and died in 1716. His wife was Sarah, daughter of John and Jane (Wollen) Hall. Her father, John Hall, lived in Boston in 1639, but resided in Wallingford in 1671 and was chosen selectman in 1675. He died in 1676, aged 71 years. William was one of the sons of Thomas Johnson of New Haven, who emigrated to Connecticut from Kingston-upon-Hull, England, and met his death by drowning in New Haven Harbor in 1640.

Of Rev. Jacob Johnson, Dexter's "Graduates of Yale College" says: "He was elected to a Berkeley scholarship at graduation, but if he resided at all on this foundation left soon to complete his theological studies with the Rev. Jedediah Mills (Yale 1722), of Ripton Parish, now Huntfield East Association, April 29, 1742." It is also recorded of him in "Contributions to Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut," pp. 300 and 415: "He sympathized strongly with the New Lights or Revival party, and early in 1743 preached to the seceders from the First Church in Milford, Connecticut, and was invited to become their pastor. He accepted

the call and in April the Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey, met to examine him, with a view to ordination. The Presbytery, however, advised instead a reconciliation with the First Church; and the attempt to settle Mr. Johnson was abandoned."

This matter is referred to more fully later thus:

"On the 10th of March, 1749, the North Society in Groton, Connecticut, now the town of Ledyard, voted Mr. Johnson terms of settlement, and on the 10th of June he was ordained there."

The town of Groton, Mr. Johnson's field of ministerial labor for twenty-three years, was originally a part of New London and took its name from the town in England, the birthplace of Governor John Winthrop, who founded New London in 1646. Groton, Mass., was similarly named by a member of Governor Winthrop's family. Groton, Conn., was at the time of the advent of the whites the home of the Pequot Indians. They and their allies, the Narragansetts, had their stronghold here on Fort Hill and this soil was made the battlefield of the first regular warfare in New England. Capt. John Mason in 1637 captured and destroyed the Indian defenses at Mystic Fort on Pequot Hill, and putting King Sassacus to flight ended the dreadful Pequot war in the colonies. Thirty-nine years after Mason's victory a remnant of the Pequots was led in the war against King Philip by Capt. James Avery of Groton.

The Great Awakening during the decade following Jacob Johnson's graduation was a religious movement which shook New England to its foundations under the fervid preaching of Revs. George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennant and James Davenport. Ministers of the gospel were urged to remember their obligations to the Indians, and one of the fruits of this pleading was to prepare the way for the subsequent missionary effort of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock to evangelize the Six Nation Indians. Rev. Jacob Johnson was one of those who became aroused on the subject of converting

the Indians and he labored among the Groton Pequots, and subsequently the Iroquois of the Mohawk Valley in the colony of New York.

Indeed for a century the Pequots had been the objects of solicitude on the part of the church at Groton, whose pastors preached to them and aided in the maintenance of schools. They never had a separate congregation, but worshiped with the white people. However, they had a school house in which services for the Indians were sometimes held, with preaching by Samson Occom, Samuel Ashbow, Jacob Fowler and other Indians. The land was poor and the Groton Pequots never prospered. While in 1725 they numbered 322 souls, Jacob Johnson took a census in 1766 and found they had dwindled to 164 souls, one-half of whom were children under 16 years of age.

"The Assembly in this year appointed a committee to repair to the town of Groton and inquire into the condition of the Indians. The committee reported them poor and needy and that they appeared to be disposed to attend preaching and to send their children to school and that some further assistance was necessary." It was also "Resolved that there be paid out of the public treasury of this Colony to the Reverend Mr. Jacob Johnson, the sum of five pounds lawful money for his services in preaching to and among said Indians the year ensuing." (Col. Records of Conn., xii, 525.)

The church at Groton, Conn., was destined to receive a terrible baptism of blood during the Revolutionary War, when in 1780 the British troops under Benedict Arnold attacked Fort Griswold and mercilessly exterminated the garrison, leaving sixty widows and three times as many orphans to mourn.

The terms of Rev. Jacob's settlement over the North Society in Groton, now Ledyard, are thus indicated in an action of the town meeting held in March previous to his coming:

"Voted that Mr. Johnson shall have four hundred pounds settlement and £300 in old tenor bills salary yearly as long as he continues to be our Gospel preaching minister." It was customary in Connecticut in those early times to give the pastor what was called a "settlement." The £400 for the first two years was doubtless considered by the people as a sufficient sum to begin official life with. Judging from Rev. Mr. Tuttle's History of the Ledyard church this seems to have been a uniform amount at that time, at least on the part of Congregational churches.

These "old tenor" bills of public credit were paper currency then in use and their depreciation is shown in the following additional resolution, passed at the same meeting, the reader bearing in mind that six shillings Connecticut currency were equivalent to a dollar:

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION.

"Voted, that said £400 settlement and \$300 salary shall be paid in the following articles, or bills of public credit equivalent thereunto at the time of the annual payment, viz.: pork at 2s. per pound, beef at 1s. per lb., wheat at 30s. per bu., sheep's wool at 8s. per lb., indian corn at 15s., rye at 20s., cheese at 2s. per lb., butter at 4s., oats at 7s. 6d. per bu., flax at 4s., the payment of money to be regulated by an equal portion of each article; always provided, and it is to be understood that if Mr. Johnson should withdraw himself to any other persuasion, he shall return the said £400 settlement to the society in the same value as he received it." The society was probably led to make this provision as to withdrawal, by the fact that Mr. Johnson's predecessor, Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, had resigned, to enter the Episcopal Church.

In Mr. Woodhull's historical pamphlet on the Groton Church it is noted that while Mr. Johnson was laboring in the second or North Society he on June 21, 1767, "preached ye first sermon ever was preached in the new meeting house in ye first [or South] society of Groton."

The edifice in which Mr. Johnson labored at North Groton is thus described :

"The frame was raised in 1727, by individual subscription. Previous to this time meetings had been held for public worship on the Sabbath at private dwellings in various parts of the neighborhood. The building stood 116 years and was in shape like many of the meeting houses of former days, with the main door on the front side, with the pulpit opposite to it on the other side of the house, and with a door at each end, and having neither porch nor steeple. For the purpose of raising funds for its construction the ground floor was sold to individuals, and they erected pews for their own accommodation, holding same as their property. These pews were like square boxes or pens, with seats on all sides within, except in the doorway. The high upright sides of the pews afforded no very convenient place for sleepers in the time of worship. That there was no demand for ornamentation in those days is shown by the fact that during three successive pastors there was no inside plastering except on the right and left of the pulpit; and it was open above to the ridge. The timbers of the house, above the ground floor, were all visible. It was not until 1790 that the pew owners relinquished their rights and made the house common property so that the pews might be rented. The old house resisted the elements until 1843, when it was replaced by a new edifice."

Mr. Tuttle continues: "In regard to Mr. Johnson's theology scarcely anything remains to show what it was. Very few productions were left by him in print, but from what I have seen I am led to believe that he was a little visionary. He published an account of the religious experience of a little daughter of his, at the age of eight years, in which there was something stated bordering on the marvelous. But, perhaps some allowance should be made in view of the ardent affection of a doting parent. [This was his daughter Lydia, who became the wife of Col. Zebulon Butler at Wyoming, Pa.] It does not appear, however, that his orthodoxy was ever questioned.

"It was some time during his ministry that the Rogerene Quakers (named for John Rogers of New London)

manifested their zeal in opposition to the regular ministrations of the gospel. Mr. Johnson, as well as other ministers in the vicinity, was often annoyed by them in the time of worship. Both men and women sometimes brought their work to the meeting house for the purpose, it would seem, of disturbing the congregation and of seeking what they considered persecution. Sometimes they would speak out and charge the ministers with falsehood. Mr. Johnson conceived a plan by which he hoped to put an end to their disturbance. As they were present on one occasion he said, addressing himself to the leader: 'As friend W—— seems to be fond of meetings, I will, with his leave, appoint a meeting at his house.' The man gave his consent. At the appointed time Mr. Johnson dressed himself in his meanest garb (for the Quakers were opposed to any appearance of what they considered pride in dress), girded himself with a strap, and went to the place of meeting. His audience being assembled he commenced his sermon without first praying audibly, for audible prayer was contrary to their creed. The conversation turned upon the pride of dress, and George Whitefield, the revivalist, was mentioned as thus showing his pride. The Quaker wore on his head a checkered linen cap. Mr. Johnson reaching forth his hand took hold of it and said, 'I do not think Mr. Whitefield is any more proud of his dress than you are of this cap.' Thus the interview ended and Mr. Johnson had no more annoyance of that kind."

In October, 1772 at a Society meeting Mr. Johnson asked for a dismissal, and his request was granted. The purpose of his resignation was to enable him to accept a call to Wilkes-Barre, he having been in correspondence with a view to removal to the Susquehanna.

CHAPTER II.

NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY IN JACOB JOHNSON'S TIME.

The period during which Jacob Johnson was educated at Yale College and during the quarter century which followed, was characterized by great theological unrest throughout New England. It was a time of upheaval, and the Presbyterian Church was for a time divided against

itself. "It was," as Jacob Johnson wrote in his pamphlet on Sarah Williams, "a time of feuds, animosities, divisions and discords among brethren."

All denominations suffered and many new sects sprang up. In a pamphlet published in 1754 by Jacob Johnson, then minister at Groton, he says that little town had "Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Saybrookalians, Baptists, Quakers, Rogerenes, Friends, Separates, Independents, Levellers, Freethinkers, Seekers, Heathen, Solitudinarians and I know not how many more."

There were many dissensions as to whether the Confession of Faith or the Westminster Catechism was the true basis of faith, and in 1741 a schism occurred, due to the following causes:

(1) The quarrel between the Revivalists and their opponents. The Revivalists came to be known as New Lights, or New Side, in distinction from the conservatives, who were called Old Lights or Old Side.

(2) Demand of Synod that all candidates for the ministry undergo examination at its hands. The New Lights resented the interference of Synod as an infringement on individual liberty.

(3) Protest of Synod against itinerant preachers was another cause of the rupture. In 1737 it was ordered that no minister of one Presbytery be allowed to preach in the bounds of another, without the permission of the latter. The Revivalists defied the Synod by their itinerant evangelism and they claimed the right to speak to whatever congregations desired to hear them.

"The coming of Whitefield was the breeze which fanned the smouldering fire of discontent into a flame. His power was that of a tornado, which swept all before it. He preached to thousands. So profound an impression did he make in Philadelphia that for a whole year daily services were held. The Old Side partisans ranged themselves in opposition, and closed their pulpits against him. The New Side was in strong sympathy with the revival. The Pres-

byteries were in open rebellion against Synod. New Brunswick ignored Synod's rule of examination and licensed candidates on its own account, and evangelists went everywhere regardless of the edict against itinerants. Rival pamphleteers kept the presses busy with their fulminations. Some of these writers were surprisingly bitter. They denounced one another as heretics, Pharisee preachers, wolves in sheep's clothing, devouring monsters, babbling ignorant priests, devil's advocates. Jacob Johnson was a contributor, though not a radical one, to the controversy and several of the libraries of the country contain rare copies of his pamphlets.

"It was a sorry spectacle, this contest of ungenerous partisans. The New Side claimed that vital religion was dead among clergy and people. The Old Side criticised the revival methods as sensational, disorderly and demoralizing. Both sides considered union as 'monstrously absurd' and in 1741 the New Brunswick Presbytery withdrew and Synod found itself divided."

Gillett, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church*, says: "As to the Revival the verdict of impartial history must pronounce it, with some qualifications, a powerful movement for good. If it sometimes burned the standing corn, it consumed an immense mass of stubble. Vital religion all over the land was strengthened by it. Thousands of souls were converted. The pulpit was armed with a new power and a dead orthodoxy was quickened to life. But neither the movement nor the opposition to it was confined to the Presbyterian Church. Some of the Boston ministers opposed the revival.

"The Legislature of Connecticut in 1742, at the instigation of certain ministers, enacted that any clergyman who should preach outside of his own parish, without invitation of the settled minister, should forfeit his salary and be bound over to court in the sum of £100, to peaceable and good behavior. Nonresident preachers, not licensed by an association, were liable to arrest as common vagrants, to be expelled from the colony. In 1743 all the pulpits of New Haven County were closed against the ministers of New Brunswick Presbytery. It was not until 1758 that harmony was restored."

As showing the intolerance of that period, the following from "The History of the Presbyterian Church in

America," by Rev. Richard Webster, father of Rev. Richard B. Webster of Wilkes-Barre, gives an incident in which Jacob Johnson was a participant:

"In 1737 difficulties arose in the congregation of Milford, New Haven County, in relation to the settlement of Mr. Whittlesey as pastor, a respectable minority regarding his doctrine as Arminian and his preaching as unedifying. They urged their objections so strongly and with such apparent concern and conscientiousness that the Council declined to ordain, but the majority of the people, headed by the Deputy Governor, insisted on their rights, and it was finally agreed to ordain him, and that the minority should hear him for six months, and, if not satisfied, should settle a colleague according to their liking. They heard him two years, but were more dissatisfied, and in 1740 applied to the church and then to the town for relief according to the agreement. Finding them intractable they asked advice of the Association; but they obtained neither advice nor countenance. They then—according to the 'statute for conscientious scruplers'—declared 'their sober dissent from the Standing Order' established in the colony, professing themselves to be Presbyterians according to the church of Scotland, and agreed November 30, 1741, to set up a separate society, if thirty heads of families would unite for that purpose. On the following Sabbath they met for worship at the house of George C. Clark, Jr., and on the last Tuesday in January, they qualified themselves before the county court according to the Toleration Act, thirty-nine persons taking part. The Rev. Benajah Case of Simsbury was fined and imprisoned for having preached for them. Whittlesey refused his pulpit, on Sabbaths when he did not use it, to the ministers who came to preach to them. One of them preached from the doorstone to an assembly of a thousand. Whitefield had preached here with unusual success in October, 1740, and Gilbert Tennant was there in the next spring. The people made preparations to build a meeting house in May, 1742, but the town refused to allow them to erect on the common. The county court, however, granted them liberty to build, and in November it was raised. The Rev. John Eels of Canaan preached the first sermon in it, and the constable was ordered to apprehend him; a like order was issued against the Rev. Elisha Kent of Newtown, but they both escaped his search.

"Jacob Johnson of Groton, Conn., who graduated at Yale in 1740, preached to them, having taken the necessary oaths. Having made him a call, they applied to New Brunswick Presbytery to receive them and take Mr. Johnson on trial with a view to ordination. They constituted themselves a church and elected ruling elders.' Accordingly said members did send to him pieces of trial; a sermon on Romans 8:14 ['For as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God'] and a Latin exegesis—'*An regimen ecclesia presbyteriale sit Scripturae et rationi congruum?*' [Concerning the regimen of the Presbyterian Church, is it in accord with Scripture and reason?]

"The New Brunswick Presbytery met April 6, 1743, to hear the exercises, and after proceeding some length in the examination of Jacob Johnson the Presbytery paused and advised that a further attempt be made toward a reconciliation with the First Church. The effort was unsuccessful.

"Samuel Finley preached two Sabbaths * * * and for this offense he was prosecuted, tried and condemned. Governor Law ordered him to be transported, as a vagrant,—disturbing the peace of the community—from town to town out of the colony. This treatment was considered by some of the ablest civilians in Connecticut and the city of New York to be so contrary to the spirit and letter of the British Constitution that had complaint been made to the King in Council it would have vacated the colonial charter."

As illustrative of the revival spirit of that period we insert an account of a later revival in Lebanon, Conn., as written by Dr. Eleazar Wheelock to Jacob Johnson while the latter was on a missionary visit to the Oneida Indians. The original letter is in the library of Dartmouth College:

"LEBANON, CONN., JAN. 30, 1769.

"The work of God in this place, which began before Mr. Cleveland went up to ye Indian congress [at Fort Stanwix], is now glorious indeed; it has spread into all parts of ye parish; their conference meetings (which are very frequent) fill ye houses where they are held; five of which we had last evening—at these meetings scarcely a word is heard but of ye things of ye kingdom; great solemnity, eagerness & affection in hearing the Word whenever

they have opportunity for it. And it is yet increasing daily, very fast. Accounts every day of new conversions & souls newly wounded—And hitherto, by the goodness of God, such hath been ye order, regularity, & decency through ye whole, that ye Accuser of ye Brethren himself, han't yet been able, that I know of, to form one plausible objection, either against the work itself, or the subjects of it. Convictions are remarkably genuine, conversions clear, & ye fruits very good. Near 30 have been hopefully converted within a few weeks—Several of my Family and school, I hope, thro ye Grace of God, are ye happy subjects of this work, and just at this juncture as ye Indian boys begin to appear concerned, they are sent for home, and in all human probability will lose their convictions, & and I fear their souls too by ye means. I verily believe the old destroyer of souls is at ye Bottom, whoever were the instruments. I have taken care to forward your letters. I heard that your Family were well about 10 days ago. Mr. Barber is dismissed, as is also Doctor Whitaker. Mr. Occum preaches with great success of late both to English & Indians; many appear concerned under his ministry. I would send you money, but you said nothing to me about it, nor am I advised for our dear Mr. Kirtland. I beg of you to be a father to him—

“Accept my best Respects. The Lord be with you, my dear Brother, farewell,

“Yours in the dear Jesus—

[Rev. Jacob Johnson.] ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY TO THE SIX NATIONS.

The year 1768 was marked by a notable event, one in which Jacob Johnson was unexpectedly a participant. This was the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in the heart of the Six Nation country, in the province of New York. The event was of national importance, as it was there that England fixed a permanent dividing line between the English colonies and the Indian domain. French rule had fallen at Quebec

and the English ascendancy in America was now well established. The Indian country was being more and more encroached upon and it became necessary to establish a boundary beyond which the whites should not make settlement.

Accordingly a council or congress was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, Oneida Co., N. Y., in the autumn of 1768, at which there were present Sir William Johnson, the governors of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey and 3,200 Indians of the Six Nations. Twenty boatloads of blankets, goods and rum were provided to propitiate (Jacob Johnson says "decoy") the Indians. (See letter *infra*.) Six days were consumed in private conferences before the Indians agreed to a boundary line. The sum of \$10,000 in goods and money was then paid to the Indians, an insignificant sum for a piece of territory nearly 1,000 miles long, covering large parts of New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia.

Not only was the Fort Stanwix treaty of national importance, but it was of equally great concern to the projectors of the Connecticut migration to Wyoming Valley, since it was at this Fort Stanwix treaty that a former sale of the Wyoming lands to Connecticut (at Albany in 1754) was repudiated and a new sale made to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. The Penns dominated the Fort Stanwix council, and it was only natural that they would use their power to crush the Connecticut movement towards the disputed lands in Pennsylvania. The Connecticut people would not recognize the 1768 sale as valid and thus there ensued the Pennamite War, which was to occupy a third of a century and deluge the valley of the Susquehanna with blood.

Having then in mind a purpose to wrest the old 1754 title to Wyoming from the Connecticut claimants, Sir William Johnson and the royal Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, John and Thomas Penn, saw to it that Connecticut

received no invitation to the Fort Stanwix council. But it happened that Jacob Johnson was there, having been sent on a missionary journey to the Oneida Indians by Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, who also gave him authority to present to the assembled Indians, and to the representative of the Crown the needs of the educational movement. Mr. Johnson was an impulsive man and in his zeal for the rights of the Indians, and in his fearless utterances of some "rebel" sentiments, he incurred the displeasure of Sir William Johnson and the Penns and they excluded him from the deliberations with the Indians. As the request of Dr. Wheelock for aid for his Indian school was refused and this refusal was looked upon as the death blow to the Indian school, there was considerable criticism directed against Jacob Johnson in the correspondence of the time. A study of the facts will show that the Connecticut parson was in nowise to blame.

Let us now pass to some details of the missionary journey of Mr. Johnson and his adventures at Fort Stanwix.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a powerful revival in New England (see page 106), and as one result of the Great Awakening, as it was called, the clergy felt a heavy burden for the souls of the Indians. Dr. Eleazar Wheelock's propaganda to civilize and Christianize the Indians was one of the great religious movements of our history. In 1741, the year following Jacob Johnson's graduation from Yale, Wheelock preached 500 sermons throughout New England. The movement took hold of Jacob Johnson and hence his connection with the Pequot Indians of the neighborhood, as noted *supra*.

Until recently there was no known material concerning Jacob Johnson's missionary experience except some correspondence published in the Documentary History of New York, but there has lately been found a collection of his letters in the library of Dartmouth College, giving many interesting details of a journey to the Indians and of the

part which Mr. Johnson unexpectedly took in the council with the Indians at Fort Stanwix. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the librarian at Dartmouth College, Mr. M. D. Bisbee, for placing these original manuscripts at the disposal of the compiler.

The following manuscript correspondence appears in "Documentary History of New York, iv, 245." The originals are in vol. 16 of the Sir William Johnson papers at Albany:

Oct. 17, 1768. Letter of Rev. Jacob Johnson to Sir William asking interview with the Indians and requesting that they be informed as to his late arrival at Fort Stanwix.

Letter to Sir William and the Commissioners defining his idea of allegiance to the King.

Oct. 22. Thanking Sir William for restricting the supply of liquor to the armed Indians at such a critical time as the Fort Stanwix conference.

Oct. 30. Asking the Commissioners at Fort Stanwix that the Indians be not sent so far away by sale of their lands as to prevent the continuance of missionary work among them.

Oct. 31. Jacob Johnson's request of the Indians at Fort Stanwix to aid Wheelock's schools.

Nov. 24. Letter of Sir William Johnson charging Jacob Johnson with intrigue among the Indians and obstruction of the proposed boundary of the Indian land.

For reasons not apparent Mr. Johnson signed some of his letters of that period as Jacob W. Johnson and others as Jacob Ws Johnson. But usually his name appears without middle initial.

The evangelizing of the Indians had long occupied the attention of philanthropists on both sides of the Atlantic. Both the Church of England, and the Presbyterians had supported missions among the aborigines, the former as early

as 1701, and the Jesuits much earlier. But Wheelock* undertook to found a school which should remove young Indians from their native environments and bring them in contact with English youth in a mixed school. His design was to educate his Indian pupils especially for missionaries for work among their own people. The school was established at Lebanon, Conn., and was often spoken of as Moor's Indian Charity School, from the man who donated the land.

Out of it grew Dartmouth College. Among Wheelock's pupils were Joseph Brant, and Walter Butler, son of Col. John Butler, who with the Indians and Tories destroyed Wyoming in 1778. Brant, at the age of nineteen had been sent to Wheelock's school by Sir William Johnson and remained two years. Becoming interested in Christianity Brant acted as interpreter on preaching journeys to the Six Nations. Jacob Johnson records in one of his letters that Brant had interpreted for him.

In the spring of 1768 Wheelock heard that Jacob Johnson, now a man of fifty-five, felt drawn towards the Indian field, and he invited him to undertake a missionary journey to the Oneidas. They were the first of the Six Nations to express a desire for missionary effort, and in 1761 Samson Occum, the first of Wheelock's converts, had been sent to them. Occum was the first missionary sent out under the auspices of Connecticut people, his predecessors having been sent out by the Boston "Society for Propagating the Gospel," 1741. While on this journey Occum secured three Indian boys as pupils in Wheelock's Charity School, one being Joseph Brant. The Oneidas heard Johnson gladly.

Wheelock, in addition to the charge of his own parish and extensive itinerating, had early taken Indian boys into his own family to train and educate, and thence conceived

*Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, b. Windham, Conn., 1711, called "The father of Indian Missionaries." See McClure's "Memoirs of Wheelock," Love's "Samson Occum." Dexter's "Yale Biographies."

the plan of fitting them for missionaries among their own people. Wheelock, like William Penn and Count Zinzendorf, was inclined to the belief that the Indians were descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, who had migrated from Asia by way of Behring Strait. Jacob Johnson held the same view. One of the earliest to entertain this view was John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, who in 1660 founded the first Indian church in America.

Aaron Kinne, who was a teacher in Wheelock's school for the Oneida Indians, wrote to Wheelock, from Groton, Conn., April 1, 1768, as follows, advising him of Jacob Johnson's availability for the Indian work:

"I have lately seen Mr. Johnson, & informed him of your Request—He appears very friendly & determines, extraordinaries excepted, to give a Sabb. for the supply of Mr. Pomroy's Pulpit [in Hebron], viz., the third in April.

"I briefly hinted to him the want of Missionaries at which he was somewhat elated & desires you would write to him, & give information of particulars, as soon as may be that he may have Time for Consideration before he shall come that way.

"AARON KINNE."

Mr. Pomroy was brother-in-law of Wheelock.

WHEELOCK TO JOHNSON.

"LEBANON 26th Apl 1768.

"Revd & dear sir

"Last week I wrote you a line in utmost haste on my being informed by Mr Camp yt you was willing to accept a mission among ye Indians for 6 months. I would pray you to settle your affairs as soon as possible in order to go—And if you can, I pray you would so order your affairs as to preach at Hebron ye Sabbath after next, or they will be destitute so far as I can see or know.

"If you would come at that time prepared to go on your mission I would accompany you to Hartford to ye election, but you will need to spend some days wth me before you go, in order to get Intelligence of Affairs &c.

"Please to let me know as soon as possible wt you will want besides money yt I must provide for you &c—Accept kindest love to you & spouse from my dear sir

"Yours in ye dearest bonds,

"ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

"Rev'd Jacob Johnson." [Dartmouth MSS.]

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"Sr

'GROTON May 17th, 1768

"I am present reduced to a very low State of Health, by the Great Cold I took, or Some other Cause, so that I was not able to Attend the Service the last L'ds Day—I am a good deal at a loss, whether I shall attempt the journey proposed, if I dont recover my health better by the Time prefixt—But I have had opportunity to confer with Mr. Kenne; who now is in Groton; and seems a good deal inclinable to go—And I hope, either He or I, or both Shall be setting forward at the time proposed—

"I send you enclosed a Funeral Discourse.*

"I wish I could serve the cause of Christ in a better manner, and more extensive way than hitherto I have done. But alas! I am but a poor earthen vessel. O that I might be like one of Gideon's Pitchers, that the more broken I am, the more the Light may Shine out. O I want, or think I want, to do something for Christ, his Cause, & Kingdom; If it were but as Clay and Spittle. But that I must leave with him, who has me in hand. I am for his sake Yours & the

"church's humble Servt

"JACOB JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"Sr

"GROTON May 21, 1768

"My health not addmitting me at present to go on so long a journey as to the Onoida, I have prevaild with Mr Kinny to go in my Room, who will be with you, Providence permitting. And he proposes to go on that Christian Service of propagating the Gospel among the Indians for the months of June July & August. And if farther helpe be

*This was a sermon preached by Jacob Johnson at Groton at the funeral of Col. Christopher Avery. It was printed by Timothy Green, New London, 1768, in a pamphlet of 36 pages. A copy is to be seen in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society.

needed & can't be had without my going And my health be restored, I propose to go for the months of September, October & November: or even thro' the winter, if there be a prospect of doing much Service. Sr, I heartily wish prosperity to Zion & to every attempt, in a Christian manner, to carry and spread the Gospel among the perishing Natives and am with all proper Respect your Dutiful

"huble sert, JACOB JOHNSON.

"P. S.

"I shall have opportunity to write & and send you my mind farther by Mr Kinny who by the Le've of Providence will come by the way of my House on Monday next. I have had much anxiety & concern of mind in this affair but hope all will issue well & to our mutural rejoyceing in the end, & farther aim of the Gospel which is all my desire and all my joy."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"GROTON, CONN., Agst 29 1768

"Revd & Hond Sr

"Yours of the 25 Inst I received by Mr Kinne* with Some ac't of the State of the Indians at the Onoidas. I laid your request before our chh & society or assembly yesterday being L's D. [Lord's Day]. Conferd some upon it but obtaining no answer, appointed Wednesday next to determine the matter. My going will be attended in many respects with great difficulty my health being yet very poor & several of my Family No ordained Minister in the town when I am out save Mr. Barber** & he yet, & I fear will be to his death, wholly useless & much more & still more weighty that I cannot write, & besides I don't think I could possibly go so soon as next Monday were I to attempt it. However, thro' all the crowd of embarrassments if it be the mind of Divine Providence I will go, & let you know as soon as I can by word or Letter after Wednesday In case some other that might do better can't be obtained.

"I am Sr your very Humle Srt

J. JOHNSON."

*Aaron Kinne was born in Connecticut in 1744, graduated from Yale in 1765. Was a teacher in the Oneida school. He was ordained in 1770 and died in Ohio in 1824.—(Allen's Biog. Dic.)

**Jonathan Barber, born 1712, graduated from Yale,—labored with Whitefield in Georgia, was pastor at one of the Groton, Conn., churches, became insane with the delusion that he was a leper.

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"GROTON September 5 1768

"Rev & Hon. Sr.

"Your Letter by Mr Kinne I further considered, & lay'd before our pp. [people] who have left it to me to go among the Indians if I think it my Duty. I have deliberated upon it (looking to the Great Counsellor) and have by the Leave of Divine Providence concluded to go as soon as I can. The Indians are now upon their Hunt, and will not likely hold their Congress before the Last of the month. It may be not before October. I hope to be on my Journey the beginning of next week; so as to be there in Season to treat with them at their general meeting. Except some other (I heartily wish might) be found to answer better; for it is with great Difficulty I can leave Home; & myself (which is worst of all) very unfit for the Service; tho' I would by no means decline if God calls, tho' I were the least of all my Father's children, & unworthy to be Hon'd as your Brother, & Humble Servant,

"JACOB JOHNSON."

Mr. Johnson was then furnished with a commission from Wheelock to proceed to the Indian country and take up the work which Rev. Samuel Kirkland had been compelled to relinquish owing to ill health.* Mr. Johnson was also authorized to attend an Indian Congress about to be held at Fort Stanwix and further the designs of spreading the Gospel among the tribes. The town of Rome, Oneida County, New York, stands where stood Fort Stanwix. It marked the head of navigation on the Mohawk River and was in Tryon County, "the dark and bloody ground" of the Revolution. In this county was Mount Johnson, the fortified seat of Sir William Johnson, at whose beck, says Lossing, a thousand armed warriors would rush to the field.

The home occupied by the Great Confederacy of the Five Nations stretched across New York from the Hudson

*Kirkland was at this time thirty-seven years of age. He was subsequently a chaplain in Sullivan's Army, 1779. In influence among the Indians he is considered as being second only to Sir William Johnson. He was one of the four white lads in Wheelock's Charity School. Though he wrote his name Kirkland it as often appears in the correspondence of the time as Kirtland. He married Wheelock's niece.

to Niagara and was called the Long House, each nation having its own share of this strip of territory, the Mohawks being in the eastern end, the Oneidas at Oneida Lake, the Onondagas at the head of the Susquehanna, etc. The region was named the Long House from its resemblance in form to the dwelling of the Iroquois, which was a long narrow bark structure, perhaps 50 feet long, in which dwelt several families.

JACOB JOHNSON'S COMMISSION.

"Whereas by the Grace and Favour of God towards the Savages of the Six Nations Several Towns have been induced to favourable Sentiments of the proposals made and the endeavours used to promote Religion and Learning among them, and a preached Gospel at Onoida & Kanawarohare has in a Judgment of christian Charity been made effectual for the saving Conversion of a number of them from Idols to God, and for a General Reformation of those Sordid & Brutish Lusts & Vices which have heretofore been unbridled among them, and the Revd. Mr Kirtland whom God has honoured to be a principal Instrument of this Good Work being now removed from them by Sickness before a Chh has gathered & Gospel Ordinance Settled among them, and yet continuing too infirm to return to his Lab's there, and I being also informed of a General Congress about this Time of the Chiefs of all the Tribes under the Inspection & Superintendensy of the Honle Sir William Johnson, when there will likely be a most favourable Opportunity to recommend to that Body of Chiefs together the Grand Design of Spreading the Gospel of Christ among their representative Tribes, and to use Suitable Arguments and Motives to induce them to a favourable opinion of the same and a hearty concurrence of their Endeavours therein.

"I have therefore desired the Revd Mr. Jacob Johnson of Groton whose praise is in ye [colony?] throughout all the Churches to go as Missionary and Supply the place which is now vacant by Mr Kirtland's removal from them, and to gather & form a Chh in that place according to Gospel rule and order and administer the Ordinances of Christ among them according to the Directions which he has given, and to inspect and Regulate the Schools already

set up and form others to be supply'd with Masters from hence as he shall occasion. And also in conjunctn with Mr D. Avery, Missy and Joseph, Thomas, and any other men of Influence in the Tribes to make such application to the Chiefs of the Nations in ye aforesd congress as he shall think with the best advice shall be most likely to Subserve the great Design in View, and to use Such Endeavours with any of the Tribes in those parts as he shall Judge proper and Expedient for that purpose, and bespeake the Favour, Countenance and Assistance of Sir William Johnson and any others whose Favour and Assistance he may find to be needfull in the Prosecution of the Business of his Mission. Commending him to the civilities, kindness and charity of all as he shall have occasion and they opportunity for the Same, and especially to the Protection, Favour and Blessing of Almighty God in whom I hope for the Success of his important mission,

In Testimony and Confirmation of Which I Subscribe, Eleazar Wheelock Founder & President of the Indian Academy in Lebanon." Dated in Lebanon, the 19th Day of Sept'r A. D., 1768.

Wheelock had not been apprised of the Fort Stanwix Congress, but he learned of it accidentally through some Oneida Indians who had visited Lebanon, Conn., and he determined to send an agent to attend it. In view of Wheelock's already established movement among the Indians and Sir William Johnson's familiarity with the same, it seems strange that the baronet had not invited him to send a representative. But as seen elsewhere it was not the desire of Sir William or the Penns to have Connecticut represented at the congress, one of the most important ever held with the Indians.

Mr. Johnson made the journey of 300 miles on horseback in ten days and at Canajoharie he was met by David Avery, who had been teaching the Oneidas. He reported his arrival to Wheelock as follows:

AVERY TO WHEELOCK.

"CANAWAROHARE, Octbr 1st. 1768

"Revd & Hond Dr,

"The Reverend Mr Johnson came to this place 29th last month with the Fullness of the blessing of the Gospel. Was cordially received by the Indians & released their minds from some disquietude occasioned by the long absence of a minister. He came in good season. Sir Wm & a very large number of Gentlemen have been at Fort Stanwix about three weeks—the Indians are come & coming, it is expected they will all arrive in a week or ten Days. Will doubtless be the largest Congress that ever was among the Six Nations. I Design by Divine Leave, to accompany the Revd Mr Johnson over as soon as the Indians go, and to return to New England as soon as the Congress shall be ended.

"Hoping for a continuance of an Interest in the Doctor's Prayers, am with all Duty and Humility, Revd & Hond Dr. Your much obliged and very humble Servant

"DAVID AVERY."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"ONOIDA LOWER CASTLE KANAWARO'HE

"Octobr 5th 1768

"Rev d & Dr Sir

"I am safely arrived here in Good Health (thanks to my great & good Protector). I came by the way of Fort Stanwix but the Heads of the Nations were not in general come together. Onely conferrd with Col. Butler & left your letter for Sir Wm for He was not then to be seen. I thot best to come up to Onoida & confer with Mr Avery & the chief men of Onoida For I perceived there was a great coldness in Col. Butler & others I conferrd with respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the Six Nations. Was then & am more & more confirmed in my opinion that these Gentlemen are not in mood to do much towards promoting the end you have in view. However if I am mistaken (which I will not Absolutely say I am not) it will appear in Sir Wms the Govr. of Pennsylvania & New York's conduct at the congress where I propose with Mr. Avery & some of the Principal men of this town to attend about the middle of next week. I suppose it will be soon enough after sd

Congress is over that I shall write you more full of that & every thing relative to the grand affair in agitation. Onely thus much at Present I will say if ever there needd help from on high it is now, yea if ever there needd faith in the promise it is now, or at least it so appears to me and in that promise in particular of our blessed Lord to his Apostle Peter 'On this rock I will build my Chh & the gates of Hell shall not prevail.' I have tho't the very Pillars of Heaven trembled & the Mountain were removing out of their places so that there is no Shelter no Safety but in the Lord alone. I know not Scarcely whether I had ever a greater Sense of it. The Lord increase my Faith. Yea the Lord increase yours & every christian's especially the minister's. I use plainness & freedom for the cause requiring it with me to you but the wisdom of the serpent to others. I know you will not cease to pray for me & the cause of Christ which it is not unlike a ship in the midst of a storm. But Christ the great Pilot is in it, whom not onely the Ships but winds & seas obey. Having this hope & assurance I comfort myselfe & am at peace in my soul & hope that you & I may rest and stand in our Lot in the end of the Days. But I must not add further at this Time only. Everything in the Indian town apprs up to, yea beyond my expectation. The greatest danger is from the Mighty Hunters whom the Lord well knows, for they are not out of his sight & the reptile daughters of the Horse leech who never have enough tho they stuff themselves till they burst asunder.

"May Babel's tower fall into confusion & the stone which ye builders reject become the headstone of the corner.

"I am in all dutiful affection

Revd & hond Sir yours in Christ

"JACOB JOHNSON."

Jacob Johnson reported his arrival to Dr. Wheelock as follows:

"FORT STANWIX Oct 10 1768

"Sr

"I have been at Onoida Castle, am now here. Have waited on Sr Wm & other gentlemen of which I cannot now write. But onely assure you that things are in a most critical Scituation, yea wear a very threatening aspect, However speciously covered & conceald. The sum of the

matter is 'That antecedent to ascertaining the Boundaries & Lines betwix the Indian & British claims' a number of great and wealthy Gentlemen from New York, Pennsylvania, Jersey & Virginia Have brought a great sum of Gold & Silver with Bateaus of Blankets & other goods in order to decoy & prevail with the Onoida & other Indians to sell their Lands from the Fort Stanwix to the Lake Ontario & thence in a line down to the Alleganey Ohio & so down or near to Fort Pitt &c., the which if they accomplish, as you Sr must know, the Principal design or designs of this Project you must know what will be the event as to your Schools & designs of propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. Being Sensible of this (tho' kept as a profound secret by the projectors and managers of it) we have more privately consulted the Two Chiefs of the Oneidas in order to aprise them of this design & if possible to fix in them an unchangible resolution & determination upon no consideration to part with their Lands but Hold them as their Birth Rights the great Parent of all things has given them withall, showing them the most dangerous consequences & with many arguments from fact as well as reason.

'But yet after all we are not without a great deal of fear the Indians will be overcome & made a sacrifice to the ambition & avarice of the great Head plotters & Heart haters of the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"Upon a whole view of the Case & state of things here (a contract specimen of which I have given) we tho't best to send an express to you Sr that you may know what is doing, & politically moving to be done, that you may lay it before the great Counsellor as we have done in the best manner we could & daily do. As also in such a weighty & most concerning affair that you would if you think expedient send your best advice & that the Revd Mr Kirtland would come up if his health will admit & you think advisable, all which may possibly be done before the conclusion of the Congress which will not likely be desolved in 3 or 4 weeks from the date herof.

"Yours in all things for Christ's ch & his cause

"J. JOHNSON."

"P.S.

"Joseph may stay with (if you think fit) till further advise.

"We may hereafter give you an acct of the whole Series of things but now onely hint at them as they are as it were in Embryo.

"I shall continue to wait on the Congress & if opportunity presents send you farther.

"In the mean time we dont speak of these thing openly or let any one know but fr'ds wherefore Jos. goes for New Engd. O pray! pray! pray! as Mr Eliot Apostle to the Indns said in a Letter to—[illegible].

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"FORT STANWIX Octobr 17th 1768.

"Revd & Hond Sir

"I doubt not but you will be glad to hear from the Congress. I have sir done every thing I could, both by Prayer, Consultation & application. I have consulted Col. Butler & others. I have laid the cause before Sir Wm Johnson personally and by an address in writing subscribed by David Avery and myselfe (For Dr. Tho's went home not well) a copy of which I enclose which you will please to preserve (For I have no other copy & the original is in Sir Wms possession) I have opportunity to converse with the chief Gentln here as Governor Wm Franklin of The Jersie, Governor Penn, Mr Peters of Philadelpa & others, many others. I could be heartily glad you sir was here. You would be received most Honbly & affectionately I can assure you. Your name is often mentioned with a great deal of Respect by Sir Wm Johnson, Govr Franklin & others.

"Govenr Penn is gone home But before He went I took an opportunity to confer with Him about setting up an Indian College on the Susquehanna or somewhere thereabout. He told me He had seen Dr Whittaker [of Norwich] & his request of a considerable Tract of Land and that the affair was sent Home to the Proprietors. I asked Him if He tho't the Proposals woud be granted. He sd He tho't not. I asked Him if the Proprietors woud not part with a tract of Land for that purpose. He sd He belivd not as requested. Will they, sd I, upon any terms. He sd yes as they sold it to others. Upon no other terms? replyd I. He answerd no, He belivd not or to that purpose. I askd Him if the Proprietors woud not come to some agreement with the New Engd Purchasers on the Susquehanna.

He said yes as they would with any other purchasers. And upon no other terms sd I. He answd no. I conferd with Mr Peters of Philadelpa upon the subject. He thot great care should be taken to choose such a place to set up an Indn academie as might not interfere with any other public School or occasion discontent or envy or dislike lest it shouldnt answer the design and besides He thot few of the Indians woud ever do for Missionaries that in general it was not worth while to do more for them than to learn them to read & write & be industrious &c.

"I conferd with Sir William upon the same subject what his opinion was about it. He thot it a laudable & very good design. I asked Him where He thot best to set up the school. His Excellency sd He supposed that affair was sent Home already and determined. I informed his Excellency it was now in agitation & preparation to be sent. But I supposd not yet gone. I asked Him where he thot the most proper place to set it. He replyd He supposed in or near Albany. I mentioned Pensylvania. He sd He supposed the Proprietors woudnt part with their lands for that purpose upon any other Terms than they woud to others. I mentioned Kohoss [Coos, N. H.]. He thot that too much one side. I mentioned Pittsfield. His Excellency askd if they had any considerable of Lands &c for that purpose. I told his Excellency they woud subscribe in Lands and money a thousand pounds & more. He smild and made no reply onely that Coll Williams was proprietor there &c. Upon laying the enclosed address before Him when He had read it He askd me where I woud have the Bounds of the Provinces Restricted. I told him Here especially at the Onoidas. He sd that was at Indns election Whether they woud part with their Lands or not. At present He cou'dnt tell no more than I cou'd where the Division Lines woud run. When all the chiefs were come together he should know and not before and that he should be as tender of the Indns Interests as I or any other friend could be to 'em. That twas easy for designing men to get away their Land by insinuating themselves into their favor together with a few Gifts, good words &c., that many, too too many had done it. For the Indns in genll valu'd not their Lands & much more passd betwixt Him and me alone (which I have not time or room to write, for paper is here so scarce that 12

sheets has cost me as much as 2 quire in New Engd & with great difficulty I have got so much and usd Halfe of it Already).

"But sd Sir Wm upon the conclusion He should make open proclamation of the Doings of the Congress that all might know & and in the mean Time that I might have further opportunity to confer upon these things. And sir I must confess that Sir Wm has & does treat me & mankind in the most Handsome and genteel manner Imaginable, which has endeared Him to me very much tho He Has no Grace, yet has no small share of lovely Humanity.

"But sir on the whole the situation of the Indns with respect to their Lands is very ticklish & doubtful. No less than 15 thousands Pounds worth of Goods & a vast deal of Provision with 4 chests of Gold & Silver weighing not less than a barrel weight of Cyder or Pork each is sent as a temptation, with Rum, Wine & high Spirits proportionale if not to Exceed & great numbers of adventurers from all parts especially Albany New York Pennsylvia & Virginia & many beyond. And besides tis thot the King has a design to make a large purchase of the natives for some pious use. But this is kept as a secret which has not yet transpird and known to onely a very few. I must leave you as I am, to guess in this matter what it portends but we may be pretty sure something to the chh of England or some Dignitary.

"You will likely sir have a more full acct. & view of these things at the close of the Congress wch I am apt to think will be about the Latter end of next week it may be not before the week after.

I am yours in all Christian Bonds &c &c
JACOB W. JOHNSON." (His. Docs. N. Y., iv, 244.)

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"FORT STANWIX Oct. 18 1768

"Rev'd & Dr Sir

"Abraham being delay'd till this morning as I walked abroad seing the natives & others—I could not but make these reflections—Good God! How deplorable is the state of these Nations not onely of Indns but bordering inhabitants who seem to be very much Ignorant of Israel's God of Christ the great and onely Saviour of mankind. My bowels could do no less than yearn over them. O that the light of the glorious Gospel may shine forth among men.

Oh Good God & compassionate Saviour must they remain as lost Sheep. Do they not many of them belong to thy Fold & oh may not the time be near, or now come, to call them home into thy Family & put them among thy sons & daughters. While I tho't & do think upon this moveing subject my Eyes gush out with Tears & my Heart is rowled over & out of its place. Oh if it be the will of my God I must I will stay some Time among them if not spend even the Remnant of my Days Preaching Christ & salvation to them. Dr Sr it seems to me now & then there is a great work yet to be done here. Oh that these meditations & expectations may not be a morning cloud that passeth away.

"These things will appear one way or the other I believe in a short Time oh may we always keep the hand the Heart of Prayer & give the Lord no Rest till he come & make Jerusalem a joy & praise in the whole earth. But I must not add onely that I am yours in all affection

"J. W. JOHNSON."

"I send this by Abraham Simon, whom I recommend to you if on examination you think best to put Him into your School. I hope the Lord may incline his heart not onely to desire to learn human things but Divine, that He may in some way serve the Interest of Christ's Kingdom. You will perhaps think proper to try Him & retain Him till you are satisfied whether it may be worth while to bestow Labor & cost upon Him for the purpose aforesd—or any other."

The following, which was on a different sheet, apparently came about this time, but whether a part of the same letter there is no indication, save that the fold of the sheets is almost exactly identical:

"Mr. Kirtland (if his Health would admit Him to come) would be very welcome to the Indns & many others who often mention his name & enquire after Him. Your son [Ralph] also whose name Sir Wm has once & again mentioned with a sensible respect. You will please to send your best advise as far as possible and Mr Kirtland if he can possible come. And let us by all means as far as possible know the real state of Boston for we are all in pain to know. It is a trying Time here in many respects. O I need the wisdom of an Angel of God. I never knew how sensible I needed helpe from God on high as I

have done since I came here & yet am sensible & I think more & more & tho Mr David Avery & Dr. Thomas &c are in some lesser things helpful the main stress of all lyes upon me. I had need to have the very Sholders of Sampson & the wisdom of Solomon and meekness of Moses. I am not able nor ever shall that I know of be able to tell you what I have endured at Times both in Body and Soul. But O forever blessed be God I have learnt more in some respects than ever I did before of man of whom Christ our Saviour bids us beware. To approve myselfe to God who trys my heart & promote his kindom & glory this is my great concern of which I cant think or write without a flood of Tears the Cause of which God almighty knows. But in paper & ink you cannot know if it be indeed possible in any other way on this side the Eternal world to know. There is need of strong cryes and tears to him yt is help. I have had some agonies of soul which none but they that have felt can tell. Onely this I may say that virtue is in as great danger as Sampson's seven locks were of Delila's Sheers, Daniel's life in the Lyon's Denn or the three Children of the Fiery furnace. I need watch & pray every hour, yea every moment that I enter not into Temptation, blot my sacred Character & mar the work & Cause of God in my hand.

"Johannes that went up with D. Avery this Instant returned, & Let me know Thomas is better but that David Avery had a fit of the Feaver & ague. He proposes to come down (if He is able) when the Onadagaus, Senecas & others that way come which is supposed will be the latter end of this week so that the business of the Congress will be in Agitation next week & likely concluded the week after at lest we hope it will, when David Avery & 3 or 4 Indns will set out immediately for New Engd by whom (*Bene placito Dei*) you will know both by word and writeing what I can now onely by conjecture & uncertainty write you.

"I should Sr be glad you woud let me know the Reports in brief concerning the places tho't of for erecting a college and by no means Sir make a Representation to the Board of trust till the Conclusion of this important Congress & you have Sir heard farther from me."

But let us go back a little. On Jacob Johnson's arrival at Fort Stanwix he and Avery found in waiting with Sir William Johnson, Governor William Franklin of New Jer-

sey, Governor John Penn of Pennsylvania, Col. John Butler and a number more of notables from those provinces and from Virginia with a great sum of gold and silver and numerous boat loads of blankets and other goods, their purpose being to obtain from the Indians the cession of a large tract of their lands, as Chase says, "under cover of a settlement of boundary."

Sir William Johnson was a figure unique in American history. Born in Ireland, he was at the age of twenty-three called by his uncle to America to superintend the settlement of a large tract of land in the Mohawk Valley. Johnson made his home there, learned the Indian language and acquired an influence over the Six Nations greater than that which any other man ever enjoyed. The English Government made him superintendent of Indian affairs, colonel of militia and a baronet.—(Chase History of Dartmouth College.)

Mr. Johnson addressed the baronet as follows:

"FORT STANWIX,

"Fryday evening, Oct. 7, 1768.

"Sir: I am just now returned to the Fort. I should have come sooner, but incidental things prevented. I shall be ready (*Bene placito Dei*) to wait on your Excellency on the morrow at what time and place your Excellency shall please to order my attendance.

"JACOB WS. JOHNSON.

"To Sir William Johnson."

This letter is No. 180 in vol. 16 of the "Sir William Johnson MSS. papers at Albany, N. Y.

In another letter Mr. Johnson asks the baronet to inform the Indian chiefs that he was prevented by illness from attending the opening of the council. He regrets that his absence has been misconstrued by Monsieur Montour to prejudice the Indians not only against him, but against the Protestant religion. He asks the baronet to let them know that he is a sure friend of the Indians and especially interested in their souls' salvation.

He also on Oct. 17 addresses a communication to Sir William Johnson referring to Mr. Wheelock's project for propagating the gospel among the Indians, and asks the baronet to encourage the design. Sir William is asked "as a tender father to these perishing Indians" to prevent them from removing from their lands, as such removal would frustrate the plan of propagating the gospel among them. To that end the baronet is asked to recommend to the heads and chiefs Dr. Wheelock's educational plan, and to give Rev. Jacob Johnson and his colleague, Rev. David Avery, personal audience with the Indians.

So slow were the Indians in assembling, that events dragged along tediously. A fortnight later, under date of Fort Stanwix, Oct. 30, Mr. Johnson addresses a note to "Sir William Johnson, Gov. Wm. Franklin, Col. Graham, Col. John Butler and other respectable gentlemen interested and concerned at their congress." He informs them of his presence there in behalf of Dr. Wheelock in the cause of propagating the gospel among the Indians. He alludes to the labors of Dr. Wheelock, made possible by charitable benefactions on the part of the King and the nobility of England, and fears that if the Indians be allowed to scatter as a result of parting with their lands, that the spread of the gospel may be hindered. He asks that a door may be kept open where the work of preaching and teaching has been carried on, that the missionaries may know where to find the Indians.

Mr. Johnson also addressed a letter to Sir William thanking him for having forbidden the giving of the 3,000 Indians intoxicating spirits at so critical a juncture. He expressed his fear that the Indians, especially the Senecas, were armed, while the whites at the fort and in the vicinity were naked and defenseless. He said he had heard there were priests among the Indians who held it meritorious to kill heretics, as they considered Protestants, "and our sins and provocations may incense heaven to let them loose on

us unawares, if the utmost care and precaution be not taken, which your excellency in his superior wisdom will doubtless well consider and give orders accordingly. As affairs wear a most threatening aspect at this juncture, I think it a time to be serious. As I am a seer, I may be knowing to some things your excellency may not, which occasion me thus to write."

It will be remembered that it was the Senecas who destroyed Wyoming ten years later.

This expression, "I am a seer," and others like it indicate that Mr. Johnson thought his sacred office conferred upon him some occult power of peering into the mysterious or supernatural. This idea always clung to him and in the last year of his life he had some mysterious premonition of the date of his death, and so real was it that he not only made the usual preparations for dissolution, but dug his own grave. He died on the date foretold. Many years later the author of this paper and his father, Wesley Johnson, were present at the opening of the grave near the Memorial Church and the removal of the bones to Hollenback Cemetery, where they now rest.

The fact that Jacob Johnson was a Connecticut man was sufficient to bring him into disfavor with the Pennsylvania proprietaries. Indeed, Conrad Weisser, the celebrated Indian interpreter, much employed in the Pennsylvania interest, wrote to the governor (Miner, p. 94) warning him to look out for "that wicked priest of Canojoharry, lest he defeat our designs." The result was he was excluded, as he says in an affidavit in Miner's History, p. 97, from the various consultations with the chiefs. Miner also gives an affidavit from Rev. Samuel Kirkland (Miner, p. 98), who sets forth the part taken by Mr. Johnson, and the general facts of the treaty, and the questionable methods employed to secure the consent of the Indians, in repudiating the 1754 sale to Connecticut and in making a new sale to Pennsylvania.

While Jacob Johnson was not permitted to participate in the council with the Indians, he was recognized socially and was a participant in a dinner given by the baronet. He made a speech there which had the ring of true patriotism, but which offended some of the baronet's guests.

The people were already beginning to clamor for liberty and for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Jacob Johnson was an impulsive man and when roused was fearless of consequences. So in this stronghold of royalty at Fort Stanwix he did not hesitate to voice the cry for freedom, and to warn the mother country of the impending storm which was to sweep away her American colonies. His fearless words, prophetic of the struggle for liberty, stamp him as one of the earliest as well as one of the bravest of the sons of the Revolution. This lofty patriotism characterized his whole life, and it was appropriate that Charles Miner, the historian of Wyoming, should have prefaced his sketch of Mr. Johnson with these words from Barlow:

"God and my country" through the eventful strife,
Such was the glorious motto of his life."

This is what he said at the dinner as recorded by himself:

"I drink the Health of King George III of Great Britain, &c.—comprehending New Eng'd & all the British Colonies & provinces in North America. And I mean to drink such a Health to his British Majesty, when occasion serves, so long as his Royal Majesty shall govern his British & American subjects according to Magna Charta, or the great charter of English Liberties, and hears the prayers of his American Subjects, when properly laid before him. But in case his British Majesty (which God in great mercy prevent) should proceed contrary to charter rights & Privileges, & Govern us with a Rod of Iron, & the mouth of Cannons and make his Little Finger thicker than his Father's loyns, and utterly refuse to hear or consider our Humble prayers; then, & in that case I should think it my indispensable Duty to seek a retreat elsewhere; or joyn with my Countrymen in Forming a New Empire in America, distinct from, & independent of, the British Em-

pire: agreeable to a project, & predicted Plan in a late essay, Intituled 'the Power and Grandure of Great Britain, Founded on the Liberties of the Colonies &c.', which in Substance agrees with my mind in these things, & if I am not mistaken, with every true son of Liberty."

He was too much of a patriot to suit the King's representative, the Baronet, and too much interested in the welfare of the Indians to suit the Penns. So he was excluded from the council.

Sir William's reasons for excluding him and for preventing the delivering of his speech to the Indians are told by him in a letter to General Gage (Doc. His. N. Y.), in which he said:

"The New Englanders have had missionaries for some time among the Oneidas and Oquages and I was not ignorant that their old pretensions to the Susquehanna lands was their real object, tho' religion was their assumed object. Two New England missionaries [Johnson and Avery] came up, one of which was strongly recommended to me by Dr. Wheelock and did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas, whose property part of the Susquehanna is, from agreeing to any line. They even had the face, in opposition to His Majesty's commands and the desire of the colonies, to memorial me, praying that the Indians might not be allowed to give up far to the west or north, but to reserve it for the purpose of religion. And they publicly declared to several gentlemen there, that they had taken infinite pains with the Indians to obstruct the line and would continue to do so. I think you should see in what manner the government's favors and indulgences are made use of by these gentry, of which I could give many instances, being possessed of their secret instructions and many other very extraordinary papers."

The correspondence and papers of Sir William Johnson have been collected at Albany and the same are easily accessible. There is no trace of these "secret instructions and many other very extraordinary papers" which the baronet asserted he had in his possession.

The congress ended early in November. As long as it was in session liquor was withheld, a fact which had

brought out a letter of appreciation from Jacob Johnson to the baronet, and harmony and decency prevailed. When all was over, but before the rum was served to the Indians, Sir William and his family hurriedly left in the night and advised all whites to leave as soon as possible. Within two hours after the liquor was given out the community was filled with drunkenness and hell seemed broken loose. Several were killed. It was Sunday too.

Now that the congress was over, Mr. Johnson was compelled to report to Wheelock that nothing had been accomplished for the school, that the petition for aid for his school had resulted in failure.

As O. J. Harvey, Esq., states in his admirable "History of Wilkes-Barre:"

"The Pennsylvanians were successful, and on the very day that the Fort Stanwix treaty was signed six sachems of the Six Nations—one from each of the several tribes—executed to Thomas and William Penn a deed for all the lands within the bounds of their Province not heretofore purchased from the Indians, and so far as the general boundary with the King had then been settled. This purchase included most of the lands claimed by The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company, under their respective deeds from the Indians. The consideration paid by the Penns for the Fort Stanwix deed was 10,000 dollars, and two of the signers of the deed were Tyanhasare, or Abraham, of the Mohawk tribe, and Senosies, of the Oneida tribe, who had signed in July, 1754, the deed to The Susuehanna Company."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"FORT STANWIX November 6th 1768

"Revd Sir,

"The business of the Congress is now compleated, all is in confusion. Mr Cleveland, Avery, Mathes will give you a narrative. I expected they would have accompanyd me to Canawarohere this Day & so omitted writing till then. But they viz Mr Kirtland &c suddenly changed their purpose. I have not time to write you for they are parting. Onely

that we have all done what we could to forward the glorious design you have Sir in view. But the business of the Congress being of such a nature it seemed to answer no great purpose at Present. However I believe it is not time lost to any of us & I hope not in genl to the Cause. It may be seed sown in Darkness which may in God's Time Spring up. I wish I had time to write more at large & to the purpose. But I am hurried to the utmost. If it be the Divine will I shall write by Mr Kirtland in short time. I thank you heartily for your kind Letters & all your expressions of love. My enclosed Letter please to forward.

"I am with all due respect yours affectionately
"JACOB JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"ONEIDA, Decembr 28th 1768

"Rev & hon. Sr

Your christian & very kind Letter (Dated Lebanon Nov. 21) I received For which & all other Tokens of your Friendship, I return you my Sincere & hearty thanks. And pray the Blessing of Heaven, may long rest on your Person, Family and School, and desird success accompany all your undertakings, to promote the Cause & Kingdom of Christ on earth. I have, Sir, done all within my power, to promote, & set forward, this great, & glorious design, since I came this way. As to what pass'd at the Congress relative hereunto (either as to my Character or Conduct) I desire nothing more, I ask for nothing more, nor indeed wish for anything more than to exhibit that progress, with the Facts, & doings thereon attendant, in their own proper light, which (thanks to God) I am well able to do (without boasting). And at our next Interview, I will (if it please God) let you fully into that affair. And I doubt not you will be satisfied. I did everything that was proper to be done, or Indeed could be done. As to any ill consequences touching yourselfe Sir, or the Laboring Cause, I am by no means whatsoever sufficient to provide against 'em; but most humbly, & meekly submit them to Him, who brings about all things, according to the Council of his own will, & finally for his own glory, & Zion's weal, and prosperity; and without all doubt, or controversie to me, issue the present dependent Cause (as far as it respects my character or Conduct) to the same

happy & glorious purposes: 'For He will (sooner or later) bring forth my judgment as the light, & my Righteousness as the noonday.' As to the present situation I am here with Mr Kirkland most of the time; Preparing and ripening things for action; and waiting a favorable opportunity for embodying, & building up a chh. here; tho I have not been favored with an Interpreter (onely occasionally & Providentially) which in some respects has been a great disadvantage to me, in others perhaps an advantage, for it has put me the more upon studying their Language, customs, &c, and perhaps, I shall be able to speak to them in their own Language, before I leave them; tho I expect an Inter- than regain my seemingly lost time. Upon receiving your last letter, I felt much concerned, lest you Sir, should think hard of me, thro' some inuendo's or false suggestion from some quarter or other and tho't whether it might not (on the whole) be best to come down to New Engd and satisfy your mind Sir in those things; but consulting & advising with Mr K—d, He thinks it will by no means do at this Time. Mr Kirkland will write to you also and you Sir will please to give me your mind farther upon the return of Dr Thomas I am Sir as clay in the hands of the great Potter I have no claim upon the Deity, But for Christ's sake; & none upon you Sir, but in Christ, & for his sake, and the cause of his kingdom, & glory; to which (tho' unworthy) I submit myselfe; & am sir, with great esteem, & hearty affection & brotherly Friendship, yours in all things

"JACOB JOHNSON."

To Dr Eleazr Wheelock
Lebanon

"N. B. I was going to have given you a view of the State & process of ye Congress in writing but perhaps it may be better to do it by a personal Representation at a private Interview If it be the will of God I return to see you Sr."

The above letter of December 28 drew out the following declaration of confidence, and about the same time Kirkland wrote to Wheelock praising Johnson's work as a teacher:

WHEELOCK TO JOHNSON.

"LEBANON 30th Jan'y. 1769.

"Rev'd. & dear Sir,

"Your refreshing and brotherly letters, by Thomas came safe—You need give yourself no uneasiness at all about ye affairs of ye Congress; all is right, & well. I han't so much concern about it, as to spend time to hear it if you were here * * *

"ELEAZAR WHEELOCK."

"ONEIDA Jan'y 9th 1769.

"Rev'd & Hond Sr

"The enclosed has lain some Time waiting an opperty of Conveyance which has been unexpectedly hinderd by the rains & floods here & at the German Flats. But now we think the way passable so I transmit by Peter* and Dr. Thos I believe Sir tis the Mind & Will of God I continue here, otherwise I had returned before now I believe God has something for me to do here before I return I think not onely by Mr K'ds desire but some light I have had by the Word & Spirit of God It will not do to leave him here alone in his present feeble state of health both of body & mind tho blessed be God he seems to be rather gaining his health every way than declining and it may be will be continued a Light in this wilderness where Light is so much wanting You will sir always consider him (& if you please me too) as but clay & spittle or earthen vessels in the hands of the great Master builder and rather expect great things from him than us who have no strength but our eyes are to the Lord alone for help.

"I trust I hope in the Lord I shall yet praise him for sending me here, yea yt yourselfe will too, & that all embarrassments will give way to the pure Light & truth of the Gospel in God's time and that there will be a perfect harmony regained and long [illegible] betwixt all that wish well to Zion & are laboring to promote the glorious Cause of the Gospel

*"Good Peter," Domine Peter, Peter the Priest, was an Oneida chief, born on the Susquehanna River, educated, and the best orator among the Six Nations. He was one of Mr. Kirkland's deacons. He d. 1792.

"Dr. Thos." was a Christian Oneida deacon. The abbreviation may mean "dear Thomas" or "Deacon Thomas."

"I am with great Respect & affection

"Yours for Christ's sake

"J. JOHNSON."

"N. B. Peter has servd very well for an Interpreter since He came here I propose to get an Interpreter for about 2 months & if I stay any longer interprit for myselfe Mr Kirkland has made surprising proficiency in their Language so that He can preach & pray as occasion calls in their own tongue."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"KANNAQJOHARE Jany 13th 1769

"Revd & Hond Sir,

"Yours I received (pr T—r) For which & all other Expressions of your Goodness & beneficence I return you my thanks & pray ev'ry blessing of Heaven upon you sir, yours & all your undertakings to Serve the Cause & kingdom of the Redeemer.

"As to the affair of the Congress I am well afraid you never had it represented in its true and genuine Light And I can by no means do it in a Short Letter Onely this I will say I doubt not you Sir will be fully satisfied my conduct was as good as the nature & circumstances of things woud admit of. I have reflected upon it with the greatest severity I was able & cannot see where I could have mended it or anybody else except they had been unfaithful to their trust which I presume woud think the wrong way of mending As to any ill consequences arising to you sir or the School I must leave to the issue of Divine providence which I doubt not on the whole will be best.

"As to our affairs at Oneida we are obliged to move slowly with 'em at present for reasons too long to write. Were you here you woud be satisfied & will be when I see you or Mr Kirkland whom I can't nor dar'nt leave. We keep Sabbath at Kannaquajohare Expect Johannes will go with me to Oneida for a short season perhaps a month or 6 weeks I hope by then thro' ye goodness of God to interprit for myselfe That I may lose no time but rather regain the time We propose to embody the chh upon Dr Thos return & for several Reasons can't well do it sooner I have Sir sent a paquet of Letters directed to you Sr most of which Letters are to the Ministers round about to desire their

remembrance &c and to sundry Friends in Groton new London &c some compos [itions?] in verse to my children &c. I shall finally deliver the sense of all to you sir viva voce & by my journals if the will of God be so Mr K—d writes to you more at large on some things All our ways are before the eyes of the Lord who tryeth our paths These affairs meet with many difficulties which I can't write even in volumes Were you sir to go on a mission you woud then see & feel what you do but hear of at a distance but never can realize without experience any more sir than a woman that never brought forth can realize what are the pains of child-bearing It is not be wondered at that such as go on a mission have been discouraged or their Constitutions broke, especially when young and unexperienced one older & more seasoned woud undoubtedly wear out tho' it may not be so fast I have had the least tryal for the Time been onely preparing for the Service & yet I am told a good deal of my flesh is worn away by those who saw me when I went up & now see me again I expect to be worn down till I can tell all my bones tho I am as careful of my health as the affair will admit of Mr K—d I believe woud have dy'd (& will yet for ought I know) tho I am with him You will Sir write your mind farther by Dr Thos.

My love to all your [a word here not legible].

"J. J—N."

"N. B. my Pacquet of letters were accidentally left at Oneida—didn't expect to see them but they were brought along when I had about ½ wrote this, otherwise I should not have wrote it just so You will easily understand the matter & qualifie things if you are so lucky as to read my writing Look through the Rough bark & you will see all things sound & good But stick & be pricked and offended with the burr and you will never see or eat the nut The fool believes every word but the wise look well to other goings look not to the outward appearance but weigh all in the Scales of Truth.

"My rideing beast I send down by Peter because she can't be kept at Oneida and her keeping thro' the Winter woud be too Dear here [Canajoharie]. You will please to send her down by the first opportunity to Groton or otherwise as you think best the ways are so extreme bad here to ride that 'tis to go on foot in general better, especially thro' the woods."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"GERMAN FLATTS Jan'y 16 1769

"Rev'd Hond Sir

"I am now on my return from Kannajohare where I preached yester Day. I had Joseph Brant for my Interpreter who performed to my surprise Johannes was by, but declined Serving tho' I believe He might have done it well enough had he been well, tho on the whole he promis'd to be at Oneida the next Sabbath when & where I hope he will answer the Intention at lest for 3 or 4 Sabbaths while Mr K—d is absent at Sir Wms & down at Skanactady &c Partly for the sake of his health & partly to get some necessaries of Life.

"There is to be another Congress in about a month at Mr Shoenmakers where Sir Wm the govr N. York Col. Kraham and Other Gentn will meet the Heads & principals of the Indian Nations to complete what was left unfinished at the Late congress But Sir such meetings dont seem to be very Favourable to the far greater & more Interesting concerns of the Gospel The buyers of Oxen, Farms &c dont lend an ear to the Gospel entertainments as you Sir know well was the Case while Christ was on earth & is not altered to this Day

"You will consider whether it will be worth while to address Sir Wm or any other Genn on such an occasion in Case you have an opportunity of transmitting Letters &c

"I believe Sir the great medium of Propagating the Gospel among the Indians must be apostolic preaching of it to them and that not by the Might and Strength of Human Authority or Recommendation but by the Light & Influence of the Holy Ghost the way it made its progress at first since & ever will do The Indns themselves & even the Chiefs of them seem to be not a little sensible of this & the other human Schemes will be to little purpose However I submit all to the direction of Heaven & am Sir yours in Christ

"J. J—N."

It was charged that the failure of Wheelock's project was due to what had been said and done by Jacob Johnson at Fort Stanwix. Perhaps in his ardor to safeguard the Indians from the encroachments of the land grabbers he

did go too far and in doing so alienated Sir William Johnson, yet Wheelock assured him in a letter, January 30, 1769, that he was satisfied with his course at Fort Stanwix:

"Your refreshing and brotherly letters came safe. You need give yourself no uneasiness about ye affair of ye Congress All is right and well." (*Supra.*)

In view of this endorsement of Mr. Johnson's course Dr. Wheelock's subsequent harsh words about Jacob Johnson when writing an apologetic letter to the baronet may be overlooked. To lose the approval of King George, Lord Dartmouth and other noble patrons of the school was enough to make any man feel sore, even the good Dr. Wheelock.

As far as the Fort Stanwix boundary line was concerned it was a keen disappointment to Jacob Johnson, as it threw his beloved Oneidas into the Indian country, the very thing he had sought to prevent. The boundary adopted started from the point where the Ohio River empties into the Mississippi (southern limit of Illinois), passed up the Ohio to Fort Pitt (present Pittsburg), thence up the Alleghany to Kittaning, Pa., thence directly east to the West Branch of the Susquehanna River to where Bald Eagle Creek empties in. Here the line was naturally making for the junction of the two branches of the Susquehanna at present Sunbury, but as this would throw the much coveted Wyoming region into the Indian country, the line was so deflected northward as to strike the Susquehanna at present Towanda. Thus the Penns were able to keep Wyoming outside the Indian domain. The line having skirted round Wyoming, passed northward to Owego, then east and north to a point just east of Oneida Lake. This threw all the tribes except the Mohawks into the Indian country. For the details of the line as stated by the deed of 1768, together with a contemporary map by Guy Johnson, see Documentary History of New York, i, 377.

Kirkland placed a high value on Jacob Johnson's services, for he wrote to Wheelock, December 29, 1768: "Mr. Johnson should continue if an interpreter can be procured. He has got ye very notion and method of instructing Indians, which is one-half of the battle."

Writing from Kannaquajoharie, January 13, 1769, Mr. Johnson mentioned that he had sent a packet of letters for friends in Groton, New London, etc., and some compositions in verse to his children. He alludes to a journal which he was preparing for Wheelock, but it has not been preserved.

In his letter from German Flats, January 16, 1769, he says he preached at Kannajoharrie the day before, and that he had Joseph Brant for his interpreter. Brant had been a pupil at Wheelock's Indian school and he was the warrior who nine year later was desolating the Pennsylvania frontier with torch and tomahawk. Most of the earlier historians charged Brant with being the leader of the Indians in the battle of Wyoming in 1778, but it is now certain that this was an error, though his cruelties at other points on the frontier were no less atrocious.

Here occurs a break in the Dartmouth letters. The next shows that Mr. Johnson returned from his mission in April, 1769. A letter to Wheelock indicates the poverty of the time. He says he was absent from home seven months, during which time he traveled on horseback and on foot nearly 1,000 miles. He felt that the sum of £30, in addition to a small sum he had already received, would be reasonable. At that time he had seven children, and "several of them could never go to meeting for want of clothing." He tells Wheelock he "would not thus have exposed our own poverty and the people's penury among whom we live" were he not driven to it by necessity.

In June, 1769, a letter to Wheelock indicates that Jacob Johnson was troubled over the perils which threatened the country. "The times look threatening at home and abroad.

Some great adventure seems to be near. The nation and land seem ripening fast for destruction if sovereign grace does not interpose. It will likely be troublesome, if not dangerous, for the missionaries among the Indians this summer. The Oneidas expect war and we hear that foreign Indians are mustering for that purpose about and beyond Detroit. The quadruple alliance carries an ominous aspect. But God will overrule all for Zion's good."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"GROTON, Conn., May 3d 1769

"Rev & hond sir

"I proposed to have been at L—n [Lebanon] and Settled accts respecting my mission to Onoida eer now But things falling out in D. Providence divers ways have hitherto forbid. my Family unwell my second Daughter dangerously ill & many things to attend & my horse failing & none yt will do to be had I woud have come up this week but one way or another hindered If I can I will come up the beginning of next week but lest I shoud not as I am afraid I cant, things being as they are with me, I think it best to send you a copy of accts of what money I received & how laid out which you sir or your Bookkeeper may see in the enclosed paper As to my Reward I shoud ask nothing more than what I have receivd did not the necessities of my family call for it, if not as a debt of hire yet as a reward of Charity to cover their nakedness and stay their hunger Some of which & more than 10 years old never had but one pair of shoes in their life Several of them never coud go to meeting for want of clothing and but one out of 7 can go to at once to meeting for want of decent clothing. I shoud not thus have exposed our own poverty & the people's penury among whom we live but to let you know sir I don't ask or desire anything for the sake of filthy Lucre but pure necessity which has been & is very humbling & cruciating to my mind, even to my soul. As for money I don't want much, 5 or 6£ to pay some out standing debts the rest at Mr Brimmer by your order for clothing to cover my family that they may not suffer & may go to meeting & School which they rarely do for want of Clothing & often suffer for want of other necessities of

Life which I am sorry to speak of but the painful sensation extorts it out of my mouth As to the sum of what may be tho't Reasonable in my case (who dont expect or desire great things in this life) I have tho't of the addition to what I have received of about 30£.

"I was from my House calling & business from the 17th of September 1768 to 7th of April 1769, the bigger part of seven months, in which time I travelld on horse back & foot nearest one thousand mile & never was one day idle but was either studying for the Indians, praying for them or preaching to or conversing with them by an Interpreter or in their own Language which I was able in some measure to do before I came away and were I to be with them about 3 months longer I doubt not but I could speak their lange compleat, I mean the Onoida & in 6 months more or less all the langages of the 6 Nations which appear to me to be but a different dialect of one Language, the mohawk & oneida are the same word for word only the R in mohawk is sounded arrh in Onoida arth as for instance Rogarri i. e. my Father in Mohawk Rougharre in the Oneida [illegible].

"I think it greatly necessary that the Missionaries to the Indians learn their Language or not pretend to go among them I believe sir you would be sensible of it to a high degree were you to go as a Missionary among them. This I know I was beyond what I could conceive of before I believe sir in ordinary a faithful Missionary would do more in 7 months by speaking their langauage than 7 or 17 year by an Interpreter However I believe it best to Instruct them & especially their children in the English tongue as fast as may be & in the mean time for the Missionaries to learn their language as fast as possible

"I have much more to say on these things but I pass them over to your tho'ts sir. As to my reward sir if you think me any way unreasonable bring it down as low as you please & if I am griv'd I will not be offended, but if sir you think me moderate as my necessities are, send an order to Mr Brimmer or who you please so that I may by a line or a word know or the the order to me to take of things I need in Mr Such a one's shop to the amount of 20 or 25£ in goods & 5 or 6£ in Cash I shall acknowledge the favour & bless God from whose hand all good things of this life come & more especially those better things yt belong to

the after life I am sir with great sincerity your very much obliged & humble sert

"J. JOHNSON."

● "P. S.

"Sir If you have an opportunity by your son or otherwise to send the enclosed to Oneida I shall count it a favour There is nothing private in't no not in the few Lines wrote in Indian you may read it if you please & seal & send it.

"My sincerest Love & good will to your Son. May God Almighty be with & succeed him in his mission if he goes & all others."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"Rev & Hon.

"GROTON May .13. 1769

"Sir

"I suppose you have received some Letters with the Reasons of my not coming to Lebanon, as I had intended my Family most of 'em are unwell & my 2d Daughter in a critical State of Life & other things so with me, that my Time is wholly took up & several things yet to do of importance that I can't yet attend to I saw Mr Huntington (whom you mentioned to me when at Lebanon) who informs me that He and a School-master are to go soon for Oneida & the Indn Country Perhaps as things are Circumstanced it [might?] be left at present (till you sir see further) to employ more than one Missionery (besides Mr K—d) & a Schoolmaster & perhaps Mr Huntington (as things now are) may do best to go He is indeed young, & has not had much time, or advantage to get acquaintance in these affairs but being, I hope, honestly & heartily inclined to serve the Redeemer, in this most important cause, He may be succeeded and blest in the undertaking There are many difficulties, & dangers, attending of it especially to one unacquainted with the Indn Language, manners &c But God is able to do all things & even out of weakness to ordain strength I believe Sir it would be best (if possible) for one of the Schoolmasters to go as an Interpreter to Mr Hunt for he will be put to difficulty otherwise to get an Interpreter and moreover if Mr Htn proposes to spend his Life among the Indns, to be sure to give his Mind to Learn the Language; the advantage of it is inconceivably great to a Missionary Next to the Grace of God it is the better halfe of a Missionarys qualifications to do service in the

cause. I could wish that all & every one that think of doing service as Missionaries among the Indians would give themselves to the Learning of their Language as one most necessary antecedent qualification for their going among them And for this most important purpose that you would Sir get as soon as possible a professor of Indian in your School and that the Indian Language may be taught as equally if not even more necessary than Latin Greek or Hebrew as I am indeed certain it is in this Case by my own certain experience There Language may be reduced to the rules of Grammar & taught as any other Language and be learned as soon or sooner than any other especially by those who have any taste or genius for the oriental Languages as I could easily show by what I learned of it Was it the will of God I should spend as much Time among them again as I did the last winter I think I would be master of their Language & be able to reduce it to the Rules of Grammar which I think would be a service of unspeakable advantage whoever does it to effect And if your son or any other propose to go into the service I hope they will in the mean time give themselves to the study of the Indian Tongue You see sir the affair is so much on my Mind that I know not how to dismiss it or give over urging it upon your mind, Sir, till you do something to effect about it the which when I hear of my Mind will be easy in that respect but I must not enlarge May the Father of Lights direct you sir in all things & make his will in these & all respects plain & perfect for the furtherance & upbuilding the Redeemer's kingdom among the benighted Heathen

"I am Hon'd sir with all sincerity respect

"yours in Christ Jesus our Lord

"J. JOHNSON."

"P. S. I believe upon the whole it may be best for your son Mr Ralph not to go for the Oneida untill you Sir & yr son have had a personal Interview with Mr K—d at your own House & those affairs subsisting be considered & amicably settled to mutual satisfaction which I hope through the Mercy & Grace of God may be done & well done so that the pathway of Duty may be open & plain that there may be nothing in that respect within or without to hurt or offend in all God's Holy Mountain It was my Labor there with K—d & prayer to God then & since that [it?] might be done."

"GROTON, May 29, 1769

"R. H. Sir

"I hear Mr Huntington is going for Oneida this week, upon whose arrival I suppose Mr K—d will return to New England—When He comes I expect to see Him at Groton and have a personal conversation with him—And if the case require, meet him at Lebanon at your own House to reconsider those remaining matters of grievance if such there should be. I heartily wish it may be done if yet to do to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned and especially & above all as it concerns the Interest of Religion in gen'l & the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in Particular. I should have wrote to Mr K—d further but perhaps I have wrote enough in the affair till I see Him or hear from Him I wish you sir, your Family, School, and all attempts to Propagate the Gospel among the Indn Heathen Success I should have seen you Sir before now but ev'ry Day & week fills my head, heart & hands full & even exceeds my own private affairs, chh & socity hang upon me in such a sort, as is uncommon we have chh meeting this week a council at Chelsea next & so on

"I am Sir your very obliged Friends & Ser't in Christ

"J. JOHNSON."

"GROTON JUNE 15 1769

"Rev. & Hon.

"Sir The state of my family & my own very Indifferent state of health has been & is the Reason why I have not seen you Sir at Lebanon e'er now. My wife has been & is poorly & 2d Daughter who is under the Dr's care My negro man and chief stay in my outdoor business Dyed last week after 9 days illness so that I am left weak I have sent 3 or 4 letters to let you know of these things I came as far as [Newent] with my daughter but couldnt come farther the Dr being at Preston &c & I was obliged also to be at home two besides as Mr Huntington is gone to Oneida & Mr Kirtland will probably be down the latter end of this Month or beginning of next I propose to see you then if possible.

"The Times look threatening at Home & abroad Our helpe is in God onely Some great adventure seems to be near The Nation & Land seem ripening fast for destruction if meer sovereign grace does not interpose It will

likely be troublesome if not dangerous for the Missionaries among the Indians this summer The Six Nations to be sure the Oneidas expect war & we hear the foreign Indians are mustering for that purpose about & beyond Detroit The quadruple alliance carries an ominous aspect But our God can, yea we may be sure will, over-rule all for Zion's good & his own and that's enough to quiet our minds

"I am yours &c

"J. JOHNSON."

"P. S. I have Sir heard nothing from you either by word or letter since I came thro' Lebanon I know not but my Letters have all miscarried I suppose Mr Kinni didn't go so far as Lebanon as I expected I hope Sir however you have heard the reasons of my not coming & so I rest till I see or hear from your Sir."

In a letter of October 28, 1769, Hugh Wallace wrote to Wheelock that Sir William seems satisfied that Wheelock was not to blame for what had taken place at Fort Stanwix, but he could not forget that Wheelock's instructions to Jacob Johnson strongly implied a desire of getting some lands from the Indians for his school.

Chase says Johnson had "secret instructions" to get land for the school, that Johnson let the secret be known, and this made trouble; that Johnson's companion, Avery, sent a special messenger to notify Wheelock. But after the excitement had all subsided Wheelock wrote to Johnson as in the letters of Janury, 1769, not to worry, &c. Chase was in error, because Jacob Johnson distinctly asked for land for school purposes. (v Documentary History of New York, iv, 248.)

Jacob Johnson's arrival at Fort Stanwix had been at an inopportune time. Any New England man Wheelock could have sent would have been equally liable to incur the displeasure of his Majesty's Superintendent of Indian affairs.

Though Sir William Johnson was an Episcopalian he had always treated the Presbyterian missionaries from Con-

necticut with consideration, but a change had gradually come over him in this regard.

"The entry of Wheelock's missionaries into the country of the Six Nations had not been gratifying to the partisans of the English Church and they entered into fresh communication with Sir William Johnson with a view to counteract the Presbyterian influence in the Indian country by occupying the field themselves." (Chase 73.) An itinerant, minister from the English Church at Albany had visited Sir William Johnson and had christened several children who had previously been baptized by Presbyterian missionaries. Sir William had not only countenanced this proceeding by permitting it to be done at his home, but he himself had acted as Godfather. Some hot Presbyterian words of protest were spoken, the protest necessarily implying a criticism on Sir William Johnson. Added to this Sir William's natural son had been dismissed from Wheelock's school for some irregularity. So Sir William gave assurance to newcoming missionaries of the English Church that they would be heartily welcomed. Wheelock was promptly warned by friends in England that his movement in the Indian country was to meet with competition, and so he wrote to Whitefield as follows:

"Plans for future operations are at present stopped by the daily expectation of Episcopalians from your side to supply all vacancies there, and (*inter nos*) it is supposed that Sir William Johnson designs none but such shall settle among the Indians in that vicinity. It is 'Indian news' that he has told the Onondagas to keep to their old religion and customs, that God is well pleased with them, and if ministers from New England come among them, to treat them with civility, but not to receive them nor mind what they say; that he is often telling the Indians he expects true ministers, who will baptize them with the sign of the cross; that those they have from New England are but half ministers, etc., and I understand by two of my boys, who came from Mr. Kirkland's to-day, that Mr. Kirkland suspects

something of that nature has had some influence to cool the affections of some towards him and towards this school."

Chase in his History of Dartmouth College thinks these rumors exaggerated and says Sir William Johnson assured Wheelock of his continued friendship, persuaded as he was "that Wheelock's pursuits would be dictated by a disinterested zeal and a becoming prudence towards the plans of the Established Church."

It should not be forgotten that an Episcopal movement would necessarily have the endorsement of the Crown, while a Congregational movement would not thus be favored. Sir William's first thought was ever for the Crown, and so we find in Documentary History of New York, iv, 282, the following: "Sir William Johnson thinks the Church of England worship of much more influence on the Indians than that of the Dissenters, whose gloomy severity disqualifies them from the task. The Indians should always be taught to place their confidence in his Majesty as their common father and protector, who is disposed to redress their grievances and to contribute a portion of his royal bounty to making them happy, and thus furnishing the best security for their fidelity to the Crown."

The responsibility for the failure of Wheelock's application to the Fort Stanwix council for aid in his religious movement among the Indians, was placed on Jacob Johnson, who was charged with dissuading the Indians from agreeing to the boundary. But there are several factors to be considered:

1st. Sir William Johnson, though personally friendly to Wheelock and up to this time friendly to his work, was no longer in sympathy with the New England Presbyterian evangelistic movement in the Six Nation territory, which he considered as belonging to the Church of England.

It is an interesting coincidence that when Episcopalianism was, a few years later, introduced into the Mohawk

Valley and western New York, it was accomplished mainly by Wheelock's own grandson. This was Davenport Phelps, and he was actively assisted by Joseph Brant.

So with Jacob Johnson's impetuous course at the treaty as an excuse, the New England missionary movement was practically killed. Love in "Samson Occum" says Jacob Johnson's lack of diplomacy alienated Sir William Johnson. But the fact is, Sir William Johnson was already alienated, as Wheelock more than suspected, for he wrote to George Whitefield a year earlier that he had heard Sir William designed to restrict the missionary movement to Episcopalians.

2nd. The Indian school would not have been saved even if the Fort Stanwix council had granted what Wheelock wanted, for it had passed the limit of its usefulness. Wheelock himself had become discouraged at the meagre results, and he was ready to drop it. His English patrons were also discouraged and were withholding their donations. Then, too, Wheelock's son Ralph had acted injudiciously and had alienated the baronet. He had been on a mission to the Western Indians as the representative of his father. He is described as "imprudent, domineering and irascible," quarreled with Kirkland and did much harm to his father's beloved cause. Kirkland and Wheelock became more or less estranged and three years later the latter gave up the Six Nation work, though he for a time continued his efforts among other tribes.

Various localities sought to secure the location of his Indian school. No less than three locations with land were offered him in Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna purchase—on the Susquehanna, on the Delaware and on the Lackawack. This was in 1769, but as the controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania rendered the title uncertain, it was necessary to go elsewhere. Hanover, N. H., was finally agreed upon and there in 1770 Dartmouth College had its birth, with all the powers granted by royal charter.

3rd. Sir William Johnson declared that the Connecticut missionaries were more interested in the movement to colonize the Susquehanna at Wyoming than in the evangelization of the Indians, which was not true. Jacob Johnson would not have interfered at the Fort Stanwix council if Connecticut had had a representative there.

4th. The approach of the Revolution made it impossible longer to carry on the Indian school.

5th. The school had gone through its chrysalis stage and was now about to develop into an institution of greater usefulness, namely, into Dartmouth College, and if Jacob Johnson unwittingly hastened that end he is entitled to praise rather than censure.

GOES TO PENNSYLVANIA.

Undismayed by the Fort Stanwix treaty, the Connecticut claimants determined to take possession of Wyoming. They took it for granted that the Fort Stanwix deed of 1768 to the Penns was obtained by fraud and they determined to maintain the ownership conveyed to them by the earlier Albany deed. Remembering how the Indians had destroyed the first settlement of Wyoming in 1763 and fearful, unless subjected to restraint, there might be a repetition of such a tragedy, Rev. Jacob Johnson wrote to Sir William Johnson from his home in Groton, Connecticut, concerning the affairs of the Connecticut claimants on the Susquehanna. This letter is among Sir William Johnson's manuscripts at Albany, and is as follows:

"GROTON, May 29, 1769.

"Sir:

"I have thot good to write a line to your Excellency, relating to the Susquehanna affair—Praying that cause may have a proper Tryal, not by lawless violence, but by the Law of Equity and Right, lest it throw the Governments which ought to be at peace among themselves as well as with the mother country, into a ferment and so the conse-

quences be ill on all hands. I have no interest to serve in the case only as it concerns the common good and peace of my country to which I am a hearty friend but no bigot to any party, religious, civil or commercial. No, I heartily wish well to all mankind and have a feeling concern for Heathen Indians and others. I suppose this, if I may use the freedom, is agreeable to the sentiments of your excellency. Therefore Sir hoping you will not take up for the one against the other nor suffer but restrain the Indians from intermeddling in the affairs, I am Sir,

"Your very humble oblige servt,

"J. W. JOHNSON.

"To His Excellency,

"Sir William Johnson."

What Sir William Johnson thought of the settlement of the Susquehanna region is told by him as early as 1762 in a letter to Dr. Wheelock, who hoped that as the Connecticut people were about to occupy the new purchase, there might be an open door for the establishment of the Indian school. (Documentary History of New York, iv, 206.) Sir William's warning is as follows:

"It will be highly improper to attempt any settlement in their country as they are disgusted at the great thirst which we all seem to show for their lands, and therefore I must give it as my opinion that any settlement on the Susquehanna River may prove fatal to those who attempt to establish themselves thereon, as the Indians have threatened to prevent such settlement, so that I hope the dangers to which they may be exposed, together with your governor's proclamation against the same, will induce those concerned to drop their undertaking."

The Susquehanna Company originated in Windham County, Connecticut, as a colonization scheme. In 1753 a petition was laid before the General Assembly for official recognition. The History of Windham says:

"That spirit of enterprise and migratory impulse was early manifested in Windham County, but it was not until 1750 that the spirit of emigration, long smouldering, broke out into open flame. Connecticut's chartered right to a

strip of land, forty leagues wide, extending across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, had never been yielded. The marvelous richness and beauty of the Susquehanna Valley were already celebrated, and now it was proposed to plant a colony in this beautiful region and thus incorporate it into the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The originators of this notable scheme are unknown."

A meeting for forming a company for the colonization of Quiwaumick (Wyoming) was held in Windham in 1753. Great enthusiasm was manifested and more than 250 persons signed the articles of agreement.

However, the warning of Sir William Johnson was unheeded and it was resolved by the Susquehanna Company that five townships, each five miles square, should be granted to 200 settlers, 40 acres to each. That 40 settlers should start at once, the remainder later in the spring.

It is worthy of note that three whole shares in each township were reserved for the support of religion and of schools. The first 40 men who came out were to have the first choice of one of the townships, and to become proprietors on condition of actual settlement and of defending themselves against rival claimants.

When in February, 1769, the first 40 Connecticut settlers arrived in Wyoming Valley they found the Penn government had stolen a march on them and already had its representatives on the ground and in possession of the buildings which had been erected by the ill-fated Connecticut adventurers who had attempted a settlement in 1762 and 1763. It should be mentioned here that among those who perished at the hands of the Indians in 1763 was Rev. William Marsh, a Baptist minister, who had come with the first settlers as their religious teacher. And now when the second attempt at settlement was made the Susquehanna Company again sent a Congregational minister, Rev. George Beckwith, who remained about a year.

At this juncture Jacob Johnson, who from his home in Connecticut had watched the Wyoming movement, deter-

mined to identify himself therewith. He visited the valley in the summer of 1772 (Pearce wrongly says 1770), and was so favorably impressed that he sent the following letter, the original of which is in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. See also Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barre," Vol. II, p. 741-742.

"GROTON August 18th 1772.

"To the Comte at Wilks Barre and People there and in the Towns on the Susquehanna.

"Gentlemen and christian Friends.

"All Love & Respect unto you. I lately received a Letter from Capt. Zn. Butler as also one from Col Elpt Dyer and Comte at Windham with an enclosed copy of a letter from Capt Butler to sd Comte Signifying the unanimous Request & Desire of the settlers on the Susquehanna that I would come among them in the character of a Preacher & Minister of christ. I have taken the very Important Request into the most serious consideration And find a compliance therewith is like to be attended with almost Infinite difficulty both in my Family & People under my present care & charge. However this notwithstanding (upon the whole view of the case) I am of the mind 'tis the voice of God in his Holy wise & aldisposing Providence that I should come to you. Shall therefore endeavor by the Will of God to get things in Readiness for that Purpose as fast as conveniently may be.

"You will therefore I hope take some care to provide a House or some convenient place for Religious Worship that may best commodate the whole Body of the People for the present, some where near to which you will please to provide me a House or Place of Residence for my selfe & what small part of my Family I shall bring should any of them come with me. As to any other Provision I shall leave the ordering of that to the Comte & People as they may think fit as or as occasion may call for.

"In the mean Time I pray you not to forget the Principle end & design of our Fathers coming into this wilderness—Nor be off your watch & guard & so be exposed to your spiritual or Temporal enemies. But above all by your Holy Lives & conversations Interest yourselves in the Divine Favor and Protection that God Himselfe may dwell with

you & bless you and prepare the way for the Blessing of the Gospel Ministry & ordinances among you.

"So wishes so prays & most sincerely Desires your real Friend & humle sert for chirsts sake with all affection,

[Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON."

"To the People in the
Several Towns on the
East Branch of the
Susquehanna.

"P. S. Possibly the Rumer of Peace & counter orders to Govern [Penn] may be a Devise to put you off your Guard to make you a more easy Prey, be the more watchful that you may not be betrayed. 'Sure bind sure find' Is a Proverb as True as it is old. 'Trust not an Enemy too soon.' Make no man a Friend but upon sufficient Tryal, 'Such as have broken their Promise twice Dont believe tho' they should swear Thrice.' Never trust a Fox out of a cage—or a serpent 'till His Head is broke. When thine Enemy speaketh fair believe Him not, For there are Seven Abominations in his Heart.—*Proverbs of Solomon*. The Lord give understanding in all things.—*St. Paul*."

This letter was followed three weeks later by another accepting finally the pastorate of the church in Wilkes-Barre. The original has been placed by the present writer in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. See also Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barre," Vol. II, pp. 742-743.

"GROTON, Sept 4th, 1772.

"To the People, Settlers in the Towns, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna.

"Brethren & Christian Friends

"The Country where You are now Settling is undoubtedly within the claim of Connecticut Charter And of vast importance to the Colony and more particularly so to you that are Settling there not onely on account of your Temporal Interest but more especially so as it Respects the Kingdom of Christ & the Interest of the Christian Religion This hath lain with great weight on my mind for a number of years past that I could have no Rest in my Spirit 'till I made you a visit And I hope my Labors were not in vain in the Lord—

“And whereas You have been pleased to Request & Desire me to come again—as also the Comte at Windham have Shewn their approbation thereof & full concurrence therein—And having opportunity the Day past to Confer with Capt. Butler on these things As also to receive from him a Subscription for my Temporal Support the Present year I do now in Addition to my other Letters Send you this Further to let you know my Purpose & Determination is to come & See you To preach the Gospel of Christ unto you Provided my Way be made plain by the Advise of Counsel & Concurrence of church & people here which I Shall next attend to—Our People have had it under consideration for Some Time past—I have conferd with Some & had the minds of others in the Ministry who all as far as I can learn well approve of & think it my Duty to Remove I have conferd with Several of our Principal People both of church & Society who much Desire my Continuation in the Ministry here But yet appear willing to Submit to my Remove if it may be for the greater benefit & enlargement of Christs Kingdom elsewhere which I doubt not will be sufficiently plain & Evident before a Counsel If anything Should fall out to the Contrary I shall let you know by the first opportunity In the mean time shall be making all convenient Readiness to be on my Journey to you at least by the Middle of the next month or sooner if I can get the way open for my Remove

“You will I hope provide Some Convenient House or Place for Public Worship that may best commodate the Several Towns for the Present near unto which a House or Place for my Residence until things are further Settled I heartily thank you one & all for your Regards Shewn and kindnesses bestowed on me when with you As also for the Provisions you have generously made by Subscription Should I again come among You I heartily & sincerely pray a Blessing may descend down from Heaven upon you that the God of all Grace & everlasting consolation may be with you. That He would multiply seed to the Sower & Bread to the eater that you may encrease & fill the Land be a Terror to all your Enemies a comfort to all your

Friends Yea that You may be for a Name & Praise in all
the Earth So wishes So prays Yours in

"To the People "our Lord Jesus Christ
at Wilks Barre &
The other Towns on [Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON."
The Susquehanna
East Branch.

At an early day Mr. Johnson had acquired a landed
interest in the Susquehanna purchase, as appears from the
following:

"Deed of Humphrey Avery of Norwich in the County
of New London, Colony of Conn.:

to

"Revd. Mr. Jacob Johnson of Groton in the County
and Colony aforesaid—
for the consideration of the Love and good will I
have and bear toward him, my right to a half right
or share in the land on Susquehanna River called the
Susquehanna purchase.

11 March, 1771—

signed, HUMPHREY AVERY

Witnesses Samuel Avery Christopher Avery acknowl-
edged New London Co—Oct. 22, 1773.

ROBT. GEER, Justice of Peace."

The story of his removal to Pennsylvania is well told
in an anniversary discourse delivered in 1853, by Rev. John
Dorrance, D. D., on the occasion of the twentieth anniver-
sary of his pastorate over the First Presbyterian Church,
Wilkes-Barre, of which Jacob Johnson was the first pastor:

"That part of Pennsylvania lying north of the 41st
degree of latitude [passing through the southern portion
of Luzerne County] was claimed by the province of
Connecticut. As a natural consequence a portion of this
territory, and especially that which is watered by the Sus-
quehanna and its tributaries, was originally settled by emi-
grants from New England, with the exception of one
township, viz.: Hanover. This was occupied in great part
by emigrants from Lancaster and Dauphin counties, Penn-
sylvania. Those from New England were generally Con-
gregationalists in education and feeling. Those from Lan-

caster and Dauphin were of Presbyterian stock, originally from the north of Ireland. From these two sources was derived the original population of northern Pennsylvania; better sources there are not. The ancestors of both the Puritan and the Scotch Presbyterian had been tried in the furnace of affliction, had suffered persecution in the old world, and endured hardships in the new. Their principles, confirmed by a long and painful experience of oppression, privation, exile and war, were inherited by their children, our fathers. Those were no common men who migrated to this *terra incognita*, through a howling wilderness, and battled with cold and hunger and poverty, with the hostile white man and the lurking Indian waylaying their path. Few in number, without resources and far from aid, they necessarily struggled for years against the power of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, against the combined forces of Briton, Tory and savage, and they and their wives and children and aged ones, when forced from the land, after witnessing the terrible Massacre, returned again and again, through trackless forests, invincible in their courage and fortitude, and established for us a happy home. Their labors, their valor, their constancy are above all praise. Their moral virtues, honesty, sobriety, love of order, humanity, and benevolence are abundantly set forth in the laws framed for their government and executed by themselves. They were the sons and daughters of the honest yeomanry of Connecticut,—not the refuse of towns,—not gold hunters, or greedy speculators or reckless adventurers; but the young, the enterprising part of a rural population, whose parents were ministers, deacons and members of evangelical churches. They came to fell the forest, cultivate the land and establish a society on the banks of the Susquehanna, where under a more genial sun and on a more fertile soil, they might enjoy all the privileges of their ancestors and transmit to their posterity a home possessing all the characteristic excellence of New England.

“As early as 1772, when as yet few of the pioneers had ventured to expose their families to the hardships and dangers of frontier life, they sought to obtain the settlement of Rev. Jacob Johnson as their pastor. On September 11, 1772, the proprietors of the town meeting voted to give him and his heirs forever, in case he settled with them, ‘Fifty acres of any land now undivided’ in this township, wherever

he may choose, and subsequently the island below town, then of considerable size, and valuable for culture and as a fishery, was added. Mr. Anderson Dana and Mr. Asa Stevens were appointed to confer with Mr. Johnson and with committees of other towns agreeably to vote of the Company of Settlers of the five towns."

According to the Westmoreland Records, August 23, 1773, after he had preached nearly a year, a formal call to Mr. Johnson was made and the salary was fixed at £60 sterling, *i. e.* \$300, with a promise of raising it as they were able, to £100 (\$333 Connecticut currency). This, with a house and land, was a most liberal provision. This, while it exhibits the solicitude of our ancestors for Gospel privileges, also brings to view another trait of character, freedom from intolerance. The salary was ordered to be assessed on the tax list. This was the invariable practice in Connecticut. They knew no other; but when a few who were not Congregationalists, but Baptists, remonstrated against this measure, the Congregationalists at once rescinded their resolution and raised the sum promised by voluntary subscription. This at the time was unprecedented. It was greatly in advance of the mother State, in which the standing order was continued to a much later period. Having the power of law they voluntarily waived their advantage and took the additional expense and trouble upon themselves. This was Christian charity. Rev. Jacob Johnson was a man of very considerable learning, * * * and eminent for sterling piety.

"At the capitulation of Forty Fort Mr. Johnson was one of the commissioners who obtained, upon the whole, favorable terms from the victorious foe. He preached the Gospel, performed the marriage rite, administered baptism, shared the sufferings of the people in their expulsion by the Pennamites and the savages, comforted the bereaved mourning widow and orphan in their desolation and exile and returned with the afflicted remnant to build again the walls of Zion.

*Marsh and Beckwith, Mr. Johnson's predecessors in the field, were sent out by the Susquehanna Company and were paid out of the company treasury. Mr. Johnson's support was provided by all the citizens alike, by means of rates levied at town-meeting. Marsh and Beckwith were like chaplains, their ministrations were but temporary, not fixed by the inhabitants, but by the parent land company in Connecticut. In a deed dated 1795 Mr. Johnson states that he and his son, Jeholada P. Johnson, lived at the foot of Union Street, the father on the lower corner and the son on the opposite corner.

"A house of worship, denominated a house for public use, had been commenced and almost completed when the desolating fury of the savage swept away habitation and men. [See *infra*, p. 179.] After the return of the inhabitants, a mere handful of the original number, Mr. Johnson renewed his labors as his advanced age and increasing infirmities permitted, until in the year 1797 he passed from earthly troubles and entered into rest."

The following extracts are from the early records:

"At a meeting held at Wyoming, 2nd Oct. 1772, Capt. O. Gore, Capt. Z. Butler and Maj. Ez. Pierce were appointed a committee to provide a habitation for Rev. Jacob Johnson this winter."

"At a meeting Nov. 18, 1772, voted: 'Mr. Christopher Avery is appointed to collect in those species that the proprietors and settlers have signed for the support of the Rev. Jacob Johnson, the year ensuing.'"

"The Rev. Jacob Johnson is entitled to a settling right in some one of the settling towns."

The method of calling these meetings is shown by the following warning, the original of which is in the possession of the Wyoming Historical Society. The fort referred to was Fort Wyoming, which stood on the river bank, near Northampton street. On the back is a tally list, probably the vote for the moderator of the meeting, of which "Capt. Butler" received 21 and "Capt. Gore" received 8:

"These are to Warn all the Propriators Belonging to ye Susquehanna Purchase to meet at ye Fort In wilkes-barre on wednesday ye 18th day of this Instant november (1772) at twelve a Clock on sd Day—

1st. to se what meathod is Best to come into for our Guarding & Scouting this winter Season.

2ly. to se what shall Be Done with those Persons that Complaint is made against their not attending their Duty when called upon—

3ly. to appoint a collector to Receive in those Species that was signed by the Propriators and Setlers for ye Suport of ye Revend Mr. Johnson, ye year Insuing—

4ly. to notify those Persons that Holds Rights and Have ye care of sd Rights to acquaint ye comtee forthwith who manned sd Rights.

5ly. to se what this Company will Do further in Cutting & Clearing a Rode to Delaware River &c:—

6ly. to act upon any other Business that Shall Be thought Proper to be Done Ralative to the settlement of sd Lands &c:—

ZEBULON BUTLEB

EZEKIEL PIERCE

STEPHEN FULLER

Committee.

N. B. as their is Some Business of Importance to be acted on at sd meeting it is Hopeful you will Give your attendance."

His labors started out so well that "At a meeting, February 16, 1773, voted to continue the Rev. Jacob Johnson in the work of the gospel ministry among us."

Mr. Johnson was pastor at first, not only of Wilkes-Barre, but of the adjacent towns of Kingston and Plymouth, under engagement from the people in town meeting assembled.

"At a meeting, December 8, 1773, Kingston and Plymouth are willing to dismiss the Rev. Jacob Johnson from his former agreement in dividing his labor in preaching the gospel among us."

"Each town at town meeting shall appoint a committee of two men to confer with the Rev. Mr. Jacob Johnson concerning his preaching the gospel among us, and how his time shall be divided among us."

In laying out the town two lots, containing about 400 acres of back lands, had been set off for the first settled minister and for schools. One of these 400-acre lots and 50 acres previously mentioned, together with a town lot of 40 acres, will show the liberal provision made for Gospel purposes. (Miner.)

Rev. Noah Wadhams, who visited Plymouth about that time, wrote a letter, in which he sad he found Rev. Mr. Johnson in the valley, and he hoped the latter would remain, as the people were as sheep without a shepherd. Mr. Wadhams subsequently accepted a call to the Plymouth

congregation and served until his death in 1806. (See Harvey's History of Lodge 61.)

In 1791 Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, M. A. (Harvard 1789) was pastor of the Wilkes-Barre church for six months.

Following are extracts from the History of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre by Sheldon Reynolds, pp. 47-48:

"We find in the ancient records of the town that the town meeting, composed in its membership of the proprietors and settlers of the district, deliberated upon and decided all business affecting the welfare of the people, whether of secular affairs or that which touched their religious concerns. The minutes of these meetings often contain the action taken to provide for the defense of the settlement against the imminent attack of the enemy, and in the next paragraph record the amount to be paid the "settled minister," and the manner in which his salary is to be raised:

"Nov. 18, 1772. Voted that those who belong to Hanover shall mount guard in ye block-house where Capt. Stewart now lives, and those that live in Kingston shall come over and do their duty in ye fort at Wilkes-Barre until they shall fortify and guard by themselves in Kingston. Voted that Mr. Christopher Avery is appointed to collect in those species that ye proprietors and settlers have signed to ye support of ye Rev. Mr. Jacob Johnson ye year ensuing.

"May, 1773. Voted that there be a constant guard kept at the fort in Wilkes-Barre of 12 men and that they keep it day and night, and that they be relieved every 24 hours; Voted that the ferryman be obliged to carry the guard across on free cost; and the people across on Sundays to meeting on free cost."

The appended deed is an interesting document, inasmuch as it is a conveyance made by the people in town meeting assembled. It settles definitely the claim that while other preachers of the Gospel had come and gone, Rev. Jacob Johnson was the first settled pastor of the Town of Wilkes-Barre. The lot conveyed to him was along the upper side of North street, and reached from Main street to the river. The Memorial Church is on the lot. In the deed books it was spoken of for many years as "the Fifty Acre lot."

“WHEREAS the Susquehanna Company among other regulations for the Settlement of the Town of Wilkes-Barre (now in the County of Luzerne) } Timothy Pickering
John P. Schott &
Zebulon Butler
to
Jacob Johnson
and certain other Towns adjacent, resolved that three rights or shares in each town should be reserved and appropriated for the public use of a Gospel Ministry and Schools in each of said towns one of which rights or Shares was Intended for the first settled Minister in fee simple.

“AND WHEREAS the Reverend Jacob Johnson of Wilkesbarre aforesaid claimed one right or Share of the Tract of Land in Sd Town reserved and appropriated to the publick uses aforesaid, by virtue of his Settlement as the first Gospel Minister therein,

“AND WHEREAS the proprietors of said Town of Wilkesbarre (originally called the district of Wilkesbarre in the Town of Westmoreland) at a meeting regularly warned according to the usages of the said Town or district and held on th seventeenth day of April A. D. 1788 appointed a committee, to wit, Timothy Pickering, John Paul Schott & Zebulon Butler, to search the records and see what Title the reverend Jacob Johnson had to a right of Land in Wilkesbarre and also to State the evidence he should produce of such right and report the same at a future meeting.

“AND WHEREAS at a meeting of the said proprietors regularly warned and held as aforesaid on the eighteenth day of April A. D. 1789, two of the said Committee, to wit, John Paul Schott and Zebulon Butler (the said Timothy Pickering being at that time absent) made report to the said proprietors that having made the Examination and Stated the evidence of the Reverend Jacob Johnson’s Title to one of the publick Lots in the said Town, they found he had an undoubted right of one of them by virtue of his call and Settlement there, whereupon the said report being approved by the Said proprietors at their meeting last mentioned, they passed a vote in these words, viz: That Colo. Timothy Pickering, Colo Zebulon Butler & Capt. John Paul Schott committee be empowered and Directed to divide the public Land in this Town into three Lots and put the reverend Jacob Johnson in possession of one of them, which is his property in fee simple, By virtue of his call and Settle-

ment here as the first ordained minister, Now be it Known That the said Timothy Pickering, Zebulon Butler & John Paul Schott, in pursuance of the said vote have divided the Tract of Land in said Wilkesbarre reserved for public uses as aforesaid into three Lots by lines running Straight from front to rear and equally Dividing the front and Rear Lines of the said Tract of Land reserved as aforesaid and assigned the Southern Lot of the said three Lots to the reverend Jacob Johnson aforesaid, and do hereby put him in possession of the same, to hold to him and his heirs as an Estate in fee Simple.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Sd Timothy Pickering, Zebulon Butler & John Paul Schott do hereto set their hands and seals the eighteenth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Ninety.

Signed Sealed & delivered in	Timothy Pickering	(Seal)
presence of us—	John P. Schott	(Seal)
by the Sd Timothy Pickering	Zebulon Butler	(Seal)
Putnam Catlin		
Wm Ross		
And by the Sd Zebulon Butler & John Paul Schott in		
presence of us—		
Rosewell Welles		
Samuel Pease	Luzerne County ss	

"Two of the Grantors to the foregoing instrument viz. John P. Schott & Zebulon Butler come personally before me and acknowledged the Same to be their free act and Deed Also Putnam Catlin one of the Subscribing Witnesses personally appeared and Solemnly Declared and said that he saw Timothy Pickering sign Seal and as his free act Deliver the foregoing Instrument and the said Putnam Catlin also declared that he saw William Ross subscribe the Same as Witness

Given under my hand and Seal this tenth day of Decr A. D. 1793.

(Seal) Arnold Colt Justice Peace
Recorded Feby 18, 1797. (Book 4, page 420.)

It also appears from Mr. Harvey's History, p. 746, that when the town voted to Mr. Johnson in 1773 the fifty-acre lot it reserved out of the same four acres at the south-

easterly corner for a public burial ground, and that in lieu of this reservation the island known as Wilkes-Barre Island was voted to Mr. Johnson.

"In addition to the "50-acre Lot" and "Wilkes-Barre Island" the proprietors of Wilkes-Barre subsequently granted to Mr. Johnson "Public Lot No. 1" (mentioned on page 656). This lot lay in that part of Wilkes-Barre Township which is now Plains Township, immediately adjoining the present northeastern boundary of Wilkes-Barre Township, and extended from the main, or middle, road near Mill Creek to the southeastern boundary of the township. It was certified under the Act of April 4, 1799, as containing 396 acres. Within eight or ten years after settling here Mr. Johnson acquired other real estate in Wilkes-Barre to a considerable amount. March 8, 1773, the proprietor of Wilkes-Barre bestowed upon him Lot No. 9 in the town-plot. May 12, 1777, Mr. Johnson became the owner of Lot No. 10 in the town-plot, and Lot No. 45 (containing 181 acres) in the 3d Division of Wilkes-Barre. July 1, 1777, Mr. Johnson bought of James Stark, for £8, Lot No. 12 in the town-plot, and later in the same year, or early in 1778, he bought of John Abbott Lot No. 35 in the town-plot.

From the Reynolds History of the First Presbyterian Church, pp. 52, 53, the following is quoted:

"We have no record of the ministry of Mr. Johnson during his long and busy pastorate in Wyoming Valley. Whatever church records had been kept were doubtless destroyed, as were also nearly all other records of the time. We know, however, that services were regularly held when actual war was not being waged. Upon the return of the inhabitants after the flight from the valley they seem to have met for worship in the school houses, of which there were several, and at the humble homes of the settlers. Col. John Franklin, in his journal, says: "Sunday, 28 Feb., 1789, I attended meeting at Mr. Yarrington's, Mr. Johnson preached;" and "Sunday, 28 March, 1789, attended meeting at Yarrington's to hear Mr. Johnson."

"The field of labor to which Mr. Johnson had come was extended, as from his letter it seems he regarded all the

towns of the "East Branch" as within his charge. This would include Lackawanna on the northeast and Plymouth and Hanover on the south and west.

"During these years the Church was self-supporting, the organization was preserved, and its sustaining influences were felt in the community. Much more was probably accomplished, but we have now no means of knowing how much, or in what way, or by what methods its activity was exerted."

After Mr. Johnson had been in Wilkes-Barre a year or two a movement was begun on the part of Connecticut to negotiate with Pennsylvania for the acquisition of the disputed territory of Wyoming. The Connecticut Assembly appointed commissioners to negotiate with Governor Penn a mode of bringing the controversy to an amicable conclusion. One of these commissioners whom Connecticut sent was Dr. William Samuel Johnson, to which distinguished statesman Rev. Jacob Johnson had the honor of being a kinsman. The commissioners eloquently argued the case, but the proposition of Connecticut was rejected, though Governor Penn went so far as to consent that the matter would be laid before the King for decision. The speedy outbreak of hostilities, however, between the colonies and the mother country interrupted this project. In the meantime the Wyoming colonists were so encouraged by the fact that Connecticut had at last recognized the righteousness of their claim, by legalizing what they had done and promising protection for the future, that they entered with increased enthusiasm upon the work of settlement.

The Wyoming region was in 1774 erected into a town, called Westmoreland, and attached to the nearest Connecticut county, that of Litchfield, which was not much more than 100 miles away. Westmoreland had a population of about 2,000. The governor of Connecticut issued a proclamation forbidding all settlements in Westmoreland, except under the authority of Connecticut, while the governor of Pennsylvania warned all intending settlers that the claims

of Connecticut were only pretensions and that no authority other than that of the Penns must be recognized. The Wyoming people, now that Connecticut had assumed jurisdiction, introduced the laws and usages of the civil government of the mother colony and peace and happiness reigned supreme for a time.

This tranquillity was brought to an end by the outbreak of the Revolution. The growing troubles between Great Britain and the colonies had themselves served to strengthen the settlement at Wyoming, first by preventing any unfavorable decision in the Connecticut claim then under consideration by the Crown, and second, by so occupying the time and thoughts of the Pennsylvania Proprietary government as to prevent interference with the Susquehanna settlers. Two resolutions of the people in town meeting assembled soon after the shock of Lexington and Bunker Hill deserve special mention. One was "to make any accommodation with the Pennsylvania party that shall conduce to the best good of the whole, and come in common cause of liberty in the defense of America," and the other was "to act in conjunction with our neighboring towns within this and the other colonies, in opposing the late measures to enslave America and that we will unanimously join our brethren in America in the common cause of defending our liberty."

It is not going too far, perhaps, to venture the opinion that this resolution was written by Rev. Jacob Johnson, for it sounds strangely like the patriotic words which he spoke at the Fort Stanwix treaty seven years before. Certain it is, that Mr. Johnson's voice rang out everywhere for liberty and under his inspiring counsels Wyoming became one of the most active patriotic regions in all the colonies. So offensive did the young settlement become by reason of its aggressive patriotism that three years later (1778) it was made the object of an expedition of British, Tories and Indians and utterly destroyed.

Was Brant at Wyoming? The earlier historians thought he was, but we know now that he had left the main body of Butler's invading army and gone off with a war party to devastate the Cherry Valley region. At Wyoming the Indians were led by Old King, a Seneca warrior, whose name has caused confusion by being spelled Kayingwaurto, Gucingerachtou and twenty-five other ways. Some historians thought that the two names mentioned stood for two different Indians, of whom Brant was one. But this long disputed point has now been conclusively settled by several manuscripts whose existence was not known to the early historians. One of these, now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, gives the terms of capitulation in one of the Wyoming forts, bearing the signatures of the British commander, Col. John Butler, and the leader of the Indians, Kayingwaurto. The whole matter has been covered by Rev. Horace E. Hayden in his pamphlet, "The Massacre of Wyoming," 1895, in which it is proven by documentary evidence that Brant was not at Wyoming. Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barre, Vol. II, pp. 968-974, also conclusively proves this fact. Ten years before Brant was supposed to be a meek and lowly Christian, interpreting Jacob Johnson's preaching to the Indians at Canajoharie, and now in 1778 he was on the warpath against the "rebel" patriots on the frontiers.

Steuben Jenkins, in his historical address July 3, 1878, estimated the number of slain at 300 and of those who perished during the flight across the mountains to Connecticut at 200. The British commander officially reported 227 scalps taken at Wyoming and many fugitives were shot in the river and their scalps were not obtained. Historians differ in their estimates of the loss of life.

After the defeat of July 3, 1778, Mr. Johnson remained with such of the settlers as had not fled from the valley, and it is said that he drew up the articles of capitulation between the contending forces. Miner states in his "Hazle-

ton Travelers" that Judge Scott said he had seen the document and that it was in the handwriting of Mr. Johnson." Col. Jenkins's diary records that Col. Denison and Mr. Johnson capitulated for the inhabitants.

This very interesting series of articles by Charles Miner, "The Hazleton Travelers," appeared in the Wyoming Herald of Wilkes-Barre in 1838, and many of them, but not all, are attached to Mr. Miner's History of Wyoming as an Appendix. As the article devoted to Jacob Johnson is one of those omitted, by reason, as the author says, that the principal events are interwoven in the history proper, it is given in part in this paper (page 191).

The original document of capitulation is probably not now in existence. There is a copy in the British State Paper Office in London, but the names were not accurately transcribed. Col. Denison's name is given as Denniston and Dr. Lemuel Gustin, one of the witnesses, is given as Samuel. The table on which the document was written is still preserved by Philip H. Myers of Wilkes-Barre. An illustration of the table is given in Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution. (Vol. I, p. 359.)

The terms of the capitulation were not respected by the Indians and homes and farms were desolated by the torch. Not even the village of Wilkes-Barre was spared. Historians have stated that among the buildings burned was the little log church in which Mr. Johnson had been wont to preach the gospel, but Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., of Wilkes-Barre has in his possession an original letter written by Gen. John Sullivan in 1779, making it evident that the church was not entirely destroyed, as Gen. Sullivan directs Col. Zebulon Butler to use it for hospital purposes. The effect of the battle had been to leave the settlement naked to its savage enemies, and in consequence most of the settlers sought safety for a time in Connecticut. Those who had the hardihood to remain were exposed to constant danger from lurking Indian foes. It was only a few months

after the Massacre that little Frances Slocum, whose pathetic story has been told in every language, was stolen from her home in Wilkes-Barre and forever lost to her agonized parents, though found by her brothers after she had become an old and wrinkled woman, who knew no other life than that of an Indian squaw.

During the Revolutionary War the Wyoming settlers submitted to the Connecticut Assembly, pursuant to resolve, a bill of losses sustained by them from July 3, 1778, to May, 1780, and Jacob Johnson's share was £459. This amount was exceeded only by the loss of Matthias Hollenback, £671; James Stark, £547; Josiah Stansberry, £603; Elijah Phelps, £550; John Jenkins, £598. The total of these Revolutionary losses was £38,308, and Congress never paid them.

Soon after the battle Mr. Johnson took his family back to Connecticut, and it was not until June, 1781, that he felt it safe to return with them.

"Glowing with ardor," says Miner, "for religion, liberty and the Connecticut claim, the return was welcomed by his flock, indeed by the whole settlement, with cordial congratulations. He went from place to place, awakening sinners to repentance, arousing the people to new efforts and sacrifices against the tyranny of England and exhorting them to adhere to and support their righteous claims to their lands. But the cup of joy, in coming to his devoted people, was almost immediately dashed from his lips by the death of his daughter Lydia, consort of Col. Zebulon Butler.

"The year, like the preceding, was extremely sickly, typhus fever being added to the remittent and intermittent which had previously prevailed."

The Wallingford, Conn., records show that Jacob Johnson made a journey from Wilkes-Barre to Wallingford just a few months prior to the massacre of 1778. The purpose of the journey on horseback across the wilderness was to be present at the settlement of the estate of his brother Caleb, who had died at Wallingford the year previous. The record shows that on March 31, 1778, "Jacob Johnson,

clerk [clergyman], of Westmoreland, State of Conn.," made deed to Miles Johnson for the former's share in Caleb's estate, the consideration being £375, 15s and 7 d. Acknowledgment was made before another brother, Dan Johnson, justice of the peace.

In Deed Book 23, p. 159, Enos and Sherborne Johnson in 1782 convey to Elihu Hall, Jr., land in Wallingford, west of river in South field, so called, containing $25\frac{1}{2}$ acres, being the same and whole that Enos bought of the Rev. Jacob Johnson, as by a deed recorded Liber 12, folio 86, 1782. The latter reference shows that October 25, 1752, in ye county of New London and colony of Connecticut conveyed this land to Enos Johnson for £882. The tract comprised $25\frac{1}{2}$ acres "in ye great field on ye East and South by Capt. Elihu Hall's land on ye West with ye old field fence, on ye North by ye highway, being all ye land in great field as it anciently lay, belonging to Sergeant Jacob Johnson, deceased."

Jacob Johnson of Groton, March 10, 1752, for £371, bills of credit old tenor, had conveyed to Isaac Johnson of Wallingford, $8\frac{1}{4}$ acres. This tract and the tract sold to Enos probably represented all or nearly all the inheritance from his father, Sergeant Jacob.

By the great kindness of O. J. Harvey, Esq., the following from pages 746 and 747 of Volume II of his exhaustive History of Wilkes-Barre are given here:

It has already been stated that not until June, 1781, did Jacob Johnson and his family return to Wilkes-Barre.

"Having no house of their own which they could occupy they took up their residence at the corner of River and Northampton streets, in a part of the house of Colonel Butler, then occupied by the latter's wife and children—he himself being absent on duty with his regiment at Peekskill, New York. Within three weeks after the arrival of the Johnsons at Wilkes-Barre Mrs. Lydia (Johnson) Butler died. Mr. Johnson soon began the erection of a log house on his town-lot No. 9, at the southeast corner of the present

Union and River streets, and upon its completion in the spring of 1782 he and his family removed into it from the Butler house. (See frontispiece.) In 1791 Jacob Johnson, his wife and two of their children were still residing there, while Jacob Williamson Johnson (the eldest living child of the Rev. Jacob) was living with his newly-wedded wife in a small house across the street on town-lot No. 10. May 1, 1792, the Rev. Jacob Johnson conveyed to his son Jacob Williamson, "in consideration of love and good will," Lot No. 35 in the town-plot, and other lands. Jacob Williamson thereupon removed to the house which stood on "No. 35"—a log house, standing at the southeast corner of the present Main and Union streets, where, many years later, the three-story brick building owned by the late Charles Roth was erected. About 183 the Rev. Jacob Johnson erected on Lot No. 10—at the northeast corner of River and Union streets—a very substantial frame house, in which he and his wife lived until their respective deaths. Then the house was occupied by Jehoiada P. Johnson; then for awhile by Charles Miner; next, for a number of years, by Arnold Colt, and lastly, for upwards of thirty years (having, in the meantime, been renovated and slightly remodeled), by Dr. Charles F. Ingham. In the summer of 1887 Dr. Ingham demolished the old building, and erected on its site the three-story, double building of brick now standing there.

"In July, 1778, after the battle of Wyoming, when the houses of Wilkes-Barre were almost entirely destroyed by the savages, Mr. Johnson's house—which stood on Lot No. 9—was burned. Other property belonging to Mr. Johnson was destroyed at that time, and in the list of losses incurred at Wyoming—prepared and presented in October, 1781, to the Connecticut Assembly, by its orders (see Chapter XIX)—the losses of Mr. Johnson were reported at £459, one of the largest amounts in the list. Mr. Johnson and his family fled from Wyoming, in common with the majority of the inhabitants of the valley, within a day or two after the surrender of Fort Fort, and made their way to Mr. Johnson's native town of Wallingford, where they took up their abode. There, under the date of September 27, 1778, Mr. Johnson wrote to his son-in-law, Col. Zebulon Butler, addressing his letter in "care of Mrs. Butler, at the Public House of Mr. Wadkins, thirteen miles west of the North River—New Windsor." Mr. Johnson wrote: "If you

don't think it advisable for me to come on the Susquehanna this winter I shall engage in other business. How is it with you? Anything saved on the ground, as to the fruits and effects there, or what was *hidden*? Also, how is it with the dead bodies, or bones of the dead? * * Mrs. Johnson wants to know whether her clothes were found by the enemy—if not, that you would take care of them.”

“Under the date of November 10, 1778, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barre as follows: “I was in great hopes of seeing Colonel Denison, to hear more particularly by him, and write and send to you, but failed. Tho I went and sent to Hartford I could not see him, he being then gone to Windham. * * * We have heard since your letter [of September 25th] that you were again drove off, destroyed, and many of you killed by the enemy, tho this was afterwards contradicted. I have been not a little concerned about you and the people there, lest the enemy should get some advantage against you, there being now, as I am told, about 150 in all—soldiers and inhabitants—and in a little picket fort that could make no considerable defense against 700 or 800 or 1,000 Tories and Indians, and while so many of ye old enemies, the Pennamites, are watching for an opportunity to do you a mischief, and would, no doubt, be glad and rejoice at it. Things being so with you I should by no means at present think it safe to come or *send my negro* or anything of value there where you be. If you had 500 or 700 men with a good strong fort, such as that at Fort Stanwix, and well laid in with all warlike stores, provisions, &c., I should think quite otherwise; and until that be done, as the day now is, it seems rather presumptive than prudence, to venture your lives and fortunes (the little left) in such a weak and defenceless state. * * * Continental Dollars, one thing with another, are at a discount of ten and twelve for one, and rarely answer to buy anything at all.”

“February 16, 1779, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barre as follows: “I am not determined as yet whether it will be best for me to come or send any part of my family. * * * I have as yet *school*, and occasionally preach here and there as a door opens. I think it would be but reasonable you should have a Chaplain or minister with you in Continental pay. If I could come in that character I don't know but I would come

and *bring my negro* and one of my boys with me. You and the people there may advise upon it and let me know your mind, either by letter or when you come this way. If this can't be effected (tho I don't doubt but that it might by application to Congress, or even to Connecticut State)—I say, if this can't be done, I shall engage in some other way and lay by the thoughts of coming to Susquehannah, at least at present, tho the state of things here are uncommon.

* * * I am concerned for my daughter's health—I mean Miss Butler [Mrs. Zebulon Butler]. If I knew what she might want, and it was in my power to send it, I would not fail to do it. * * * Let her not be concerned for us or her only son, Zebulon, Jr., for he is as our own." Mrs. Butler had, some time before, rejoined her husband at Wilkes-Barre, leaving her only child, Zebulon Johnson Butler, then nearly three years old, with his grandparents at Wallingford, with whom Colonel Butler's daughter Hannah was also then residing.

"September 30, 1779, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barre, in part as follows: "Yours by Mr. Sills (18th inst.) I received. * * * As to my coming up with my family this Fall: Tho I had (before the arrival of Mr. Sills and your letters by him) concluded otherwise, this notwithstanding I have since determined, by the Leave of Heaven, to come, provided it appears to be the mind of the People that I should come; as also that I come in the character of a Continental chaplain, or be stationed at Wilksbarre or elsewhere in that Public Character, and that one of the Continental waggons be sent here to remove me with my family and necessary effects to Wilksbarre. Otherwise I shall not be inclined to come; altho' for your sake, Miss Butler's sake, and some others of my Particular Friends I should be very glad to come, and bring your dear son and my grandson equally dear to me, to whom your bowells often times yearn towards, and who is so desirous once again to see his Daddy and mammy, and almost overjoy'd to hear there was a prospect of going. * * * I have in this Letter said I would come to Wilksbarre provided it appears to be the mind of the People I should come, for I would come by their desire and good will, & I know not I have any reason to distrust their Good will. I say further I will come provided I come in the Publick office & character of a Continental chaplain.

For I mean to spend the Remainder of my Days in Preaching the Glorious Gospel of the great saviour of the world, and so many Doors stand open this way that I should not choose to come to Susquehannah except a Door opens there for Public usefulness."

"About the same time that the Rev. Jacob Johnson wrote the foregoing letter his wife, Mrs. Mary Johnson, wrote to her daughter, Mrs. Zebulon Butler, as follows: "We had concluded to come to Wilksbarre when your father saw Captain Colt and Mr. Goold at Lyme. They told him they had heard eighteen men were a mowing of the Flats; the Indians rose upon them and killed seventeen of them. * * * That put a stop to our thoughts of coming till we heard further. I hope in six or seven weeks to be with you. * * * Zebulon [Johnson Butler] is often talking about his daddy and mammy. You can't think what a man he is. He goes of arrants, cuts wood, husks corn, feeds hogs—does a great deal of work, he says. He is a charming child. I could not have been contented had he not been with me. * * * I hope Colonel will send for us as soon as we have wrote, for it would be beyond account to get horses here for such a journey. * * * Your father went to town for Calico. Could get none. He sent to Hartford and got a patron [pattern] one. If you like it, he can get more. It was 25 Dollars a yard. It was the cheapest I have seen."

THE LAND CONTEST.

The close of the war, following the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, brought peace with England, but it brought what was no less serious than the Revolutionary War, a renewal of the strife between Connecticut and Pennsylvania for the possession of Wyoming. However, neither side was desirous of renewing the contest and both joined in an agreement to abide by the decision of a commission to be appointed by Congress. The court, known as the Council of Trenton, was duly appointed and on December 30, 1781, after a sitting of 41 days at Trenton, New Jersey, decided in favor of Pennsylvania.

Though the Decree of Trenton terminated the jurisdiction of Connecticut it did not bring peace, and on the contrary there was to be a re-opening of the civil strife, or the "Pennamite and Yankee War," which the Revolutionary conflict had suspended. The proprietary landholders resorted to various measure to oppress and expel the Connecticut claimants, who while declaring their loyalty to the sovereignty of Pennsylvania, yet maintained the private ownership of their lands. The landholders offered to give the Connecticut claimants temporary use of the lands, but at the expiration of the term they must vacate and disclaim all claims to title under Connecticut. The Connecticut settlers might remain on one-half of their lands, giving up immediate possession of the other half; the widows of those who had fallen by the savages were to be indulged in half their possessions a year longer and Rev. Jacob Johnson was to be shown the special clemency of occupying his lands two years longer.

As an evidence of the feeling of utter helplessness of the people of Wyoming at the time of the transfer of our Valley from the jurisdiction of Connecticut to that of Pennsylvania, it will be of interest to give the following impressive letter from Rev. Jacob Johnson, who was acting in behalf of the settlers, to a committee of Pennsylvania landholders who claimed title to the Wyoming land under Pennsylvania patents. The letter is published in the Pennsylvania Archives. It breathes forth the spirit of Christian forbearance and resignation in a manner creditable to the head and heart of that good old man, who had fought the Christian's fight amid hardships and suffering incident to the pioneer's life, and had received as an evidence of the appreciation in which he was held by his friends and neighbors some wild land, then of little value, but it was all that he possessed to stand between him and utter destitution, as the shadows of night and his failing energies admonished him that his time of labor was past. What a truly eloquent

appeal was this in behalf of the widows of those hardy pioneers, his neighbors, bereaved by the merciless savages in defending the little homes which they suffering and blood had won in this far-off wilderness!*

"To the Committee of the Pennsylvania Land owners, &c:
"Gentlemen:

"I thank you for your distinguished Favor shewed to me the widows, &c., in a proposal of Indulgence, Permitting us to reside in our present Possessions and Improvements for the present & succeeding Year. I cannot Consistently accept the offer, having Chosen a Committee for that purpose, who are not disposed to accept of or Comply with your proposals. However, I will for myself (as an Individual) make you a proposal agreeable to that Royal President, 2d Samuel, 9th, 16th & 19th Chapters; if that don't suit you and no Compromise can be made, or Tryal be had, according to the law of the States, I will say as Mephiboseth, Jonathan's son (who was lame on both his feet) said to King David, yea let him take all. So I say to you Gentlemen if there be no resource, either by our Petition to the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania or otherwise, Let the Landholders take all. I have only this to add for my Consolation and you Gentlemen's serious Consideration, Viz.: that however the Cause may be determined for or against me (in this present uncertain State of things,) there is an Inheritance in the Heavens, sure & Certain, that fadeth not away, reserved for me, and all that love the Saviour Jesus Christ's appearing.

"I am Gentlemen, with all due Respect, & Good Will
"your Most Obt Humble Servt,

"JACOB JOHNSON.

"Wioming, Apl 24th, 1783."

"N. B. it is my Serious Opinon if we proceed to a Compromise according to the Will of heaven that the lands (as to the Right of soil) should be equally divided between the two Parties Claiming, and I am fully Satisfied this Opinion of mine may be proved even to a demonstration out of the Sacred Oracles. I wish you Gentlemen would turn your thoughts and enquiries to those 3 Chapters above referred to and see if my Opinion is not well Grounded &

*The Introduction to this letter is from the pen of Wesley Johnson.

if so, I doubt not but we Can Compromise in love and Peace—and save the Cost and Trouble of a Tryal at Law.”

Nearly four years later, there having been no abatement of the controversy between the Connecticut and the Pennsylvania people, Mr. Johnson addressed the following letter to Timothy Pickering, Esq. The original is among the Pickering Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was discovered there by O. J. Harvey, Esq., and will be printed in full in the third volume of his History of Wilkes-Barre. It is through his generous kindness that it is permitted to appear first in these pages.

“Sir:

“I am fully persuaded the Lands in controversy appertain both in Law Equity and Justice to the State of Connecticut and Proprietors who hold under that State. Nevertheless for the sake of ending the unhappy controversy in Peace and Love I am rather inclined to come to a Division of the Lands agreeable to the Precedent or Example set us by King David very similar to the present case. The King gave all the Lands appertaining to the House of Saul to Mephebosheth—Afterwards the King gave away The same Lands and even the whole to Ziba, upon which a controversy arose betwixt Mephibosheth and Ziba who was heir in Law to the aforesaid Lands being a grant was equally made to both. The King ends the controversy by ordering a Division to each one as fellow commoners in Law to said Lands.

“This medium of ending the Controversy I have proposed some time ago agreeable to the Divideing Lines drawn by Congress betwixt the East and west branches of Susquehanna Setting off the East branch to Connecticut Proprietors and the west to Pennsylvania.

“This medium of compromisement I would still propose and urge agreeable not only to the Royal Example above But also a late settlement of Massechusetts and New York.

“If it should be objected that the Decree at Trenton was Definitive and gave the Right of Jurisdiction and pre-emption to the State of Pennsylvania consequently the Proprietors of the State of Connecticut have no right to a Division——

"Answr that Decree at Trenton was either Inclusive of the Right of Connecticut in common with that of Pennsylvania or Exclusive.

"If inclusive then we have a Right of Division even by that Decree—or if supposed by the objector to be exclusive—we nevertheless have a Right in Law to plead the most favorable construction wherfore turn the Tables which way Soever the Object or pleases we have still a Right in Law to an equitable Division—And on this Basis we Rest the whole matter.

"Do therefore Petition and plead only for Law Equity and Justice to be done us. If it should be farther objected that to make a Division of so considerable a tract of Country to so few and inconsiderable company of Proprietors would be too much.

"Is it too much to pay for the Price of so much blood spilt and Treasure lost on this hostile and unhappy ground Who—where—is the man in all Pennsylvania would give such a price. I am sure If it was to do again I would not purchase it at so dear a Rate—

"But what a great thing is it! Seperate the Lands of worth from those of wast and worthless what have the Proprietors now on the ground but a moderate farm to be sure if we take in their Posterity with them.

"If it be objected that the State of Pennsylvania can't give away Lands that are the Property of Governor Pen or the Land holder under Him. Answr we want no such Gift But only what we have a Right to in Law equity and Justic. We don't come to the Assembly to begg a Gift but to protect and defend us in the enjoyment of our own.

"Should it be said we are now a County &c Have or may have benefit of Common Law—what need we more—Be it so—As the present state of things are—this will not prevent Hostilities vexatious Law suits Tumults & Confusions among us—But I submit the Cause to the Supreme Arbiter of the universe and wisdom of the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania—You will please Sir to enforce the Reason Law and equity of dividing these controverted Lands as above proposed. And you will in so doing be an Advocate in the suffering Cause of Right and oblige, &c.,

"JACOB JOHNSON."

"Feb. 7, 1787."

It is needless to say that neither this letter nor any other of the appeals of the Connecticut claimants elicited any pity from the landholders claiming under Pennsylvania. Instead of pity, the oppression became more and more severe and the settlers at Wyoming seriously contemplated an exodus to the northward, with the hope of finding a retreat in the more hospitable government of New York. Indeed a petition was sent by the Wyoming settlers asking the Assembly of New York to grant them a tract of land on which settlement might be made. A copy of this petition, which has never been published, is in the possession of the writer of this paper, and among the signatures is the name of Rev. Jacob Johnson. The petition was conveyed to Albany by Obadiah Gore and a tract of land was granted at a merely nominal sum. In the meantime surveys and explorations had been made by Franklin, Jenkins and others, in the domain of New York. For some unexplained reason, probably because the Wyoming people were becoming more and more accustomed to the new regime, the exodus as a whole was never carried out, though the Gores, Spaldings and others left Wyoming Valley and settled some 70 miles further up the river.

The half dozen years following the Decree of Trenton were marked by a condition of civil war in Wyoming, lives being lost on both sides. Frequent arrests of Connecticut settlers were made and they were incontinently hurried off to the Northampton County jail at Easton, under guard and in irons, or their hands tied behind them. One of the Connecticut men who thus suffered indignities at the hands of the Pennamites and was arrested on a charge of treason was Jehoiada Pitt Johnson, son of Rev. Jacob Johnson. As Miner says:

"The conquest seemed complete, the pacification of the valley accomplished and tenants of the Pennsylvania claimants took possession of the empty dwellings. The only difficulty that remained was how to get rid of the wives and

children of those in jail and of the widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers slept beneath the sod. Two years had elapsed since the transfer of jurisdiction by the Trenton Decree. Peace, which waved its cheering olive over every other part of the Union, came not to the broken-hearted people of Wyoming. The veteran soldier returned, but found no resting place. Instead of a joyous welcome to his hearth and home, he found his cottage in ruins or in possession of a stranger and his wife and little ones shelterless in the open fields or in the caves of the mountains."

Discouraged at the hopeless efforts to secure justice, the Connecticut settlers sought to found a new State, and in this they were aided by Ethan Allen of Vermont. Stewart Pearce says:

"The attempt to establish a new State out of northern Pennsylvania, if not nipped in the bud, would have led to deplorable consequences. All the wild spirits of New England would have flocked to Allen's standard and the people of Pennsylvania would have put forth all the energies of the Commonwealth to crush the efforts to dismember the territory. A violent and bloody civil war would have followed and would possibly have involved the Union in its conflagration."

One of the incidents of this controversy was the abducting of Timothy Pickering by the Yankees at Wilkes-Barre and holding him a prisoner 20 days in the northern wilderness. The participants were arrested, tried and convicted of riot.

"The trials being closed and sentence having been pronounced, the action of the court was denounced by the great body of the population. In particular Rev. Mr. Johnson took occasion to condemn the whole proceedings from the pulpit. By order of Judge McKean he was brought before the court and required to give bonds for his good behavior." (Pearce's Annals, p. 280.)

Miner says: "It is worthy of note that Rev. Jacob Johnson could not or would not suppress the ebullition of his Yankee and patriotic ire at the course of proceedings. He made the pulpit echo with his soul-stirring appeals. So

open were the denunciations of the pious old man that he was arrested, called before Judge McKean and obliged to find security for his peaceable behavior."

Pearce describes Jacob Johnson in the words of Hudibras,

"He was of that stubborn crew,
Presbyterian true blue,
Who prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks."

"As the feebleness of advancing years crept over the frame of their beloved pastor, other ministers occasionally came to visit and assist him in his work. Some were Congregationalists from Connecticut, and some Presbyterians from the lower Susquehanna. Rev. Elkanah Holmes, Rev. Noah Wadhams and Deacon John Hurlbut were among those who thus assisted."

"The most important spiritual assistance, however, was by Rev. Elias Von Bunschoten, of the Presbyterian Church at Minisink, who came here about 1790, and in July, 1791, organized a church in Hanover.

He was followed by Rev. Mr. Andrew Gray of Ireland, from Poughkeepsie, who was settled in 1792, a preacher of uncommon eloquence. He married Miss Polly, daughter of Capt. Lazarus Stewart."

During Mr. Johnson's closing years a movement was set on foot through his exertions to build a church to take the place of the old log court house in which services were held, but he did not live to see it completed. So difficult was it to raise funds that in common with the custom of that day it was deemed necessary to resort to the instrumentality of a lottery. But Jacob Johnson had been in his grave 15 years when the new edifice—the Old Ship Zion—after many delays, and after having been struck by lightning three times, was ready for occupancy, in 1812.

In an autobiographic and unpublished diary of Colonel Timothy Pickering, covering about one month in the early part of 1787 and lately discovered by O. J. Harvey, Esq., and to be printed in the third volume of his History of

Wilkes-Barre appears the following account of Jacob Johnson, which Mr. Harvey with his wonted courtesy has permitted to be printed first in these pages :

"Sunday, Jan. 14, 1787. There lives at Wilksborough [Wilkes-Barre] an old gentleman named Johnson, who was formerly a minister to the people here, who at this place had erected a church, which was burnt by Butler and his Indians in 1778. Mr. Johnson still preaches to the people in private houses here, and in all the neighboring settlements on both sides of the river. This day he preaches at Shawanee. He is said to be very constant in performing divine service on Sundays, but receives nothing for it from the people, except now and then a trifling present of a few bushels of grain. Neither are there any school-houses, tho here and there the people have employed a temporary school-master. * * * "

"Jan. 25. * * * Parson Johnson was at the meeting [of inhabitants] to-day. He told Col. Butler that he could answer all my questions, &c. I proposed to the Col. to go and see him this evening. We did so. He immediately began on the subject.

"I found him possessed of all the prejudices of the warm abettors of the Susquehanna Company's claim, and in full belief of all the falsehoods and misrepresentations which have been industriously raised and propagated to support it, and of some absurdities peculiar to himself. He believed the Charter of Conn. was better than that of Penna.; that the Indian deed was a good one; that the original produced at Trenton was not the *fair* one, and was only kept by the Company but not intended to be used. That after receiving that of the Indians the Company got another, in a fuller assembly of Indians, and *this* was perfectly fair. That this had been sent to England. That it had been returned, and fell into the hands of the Pennsylvanians, who kept it and would not produce it at the Federal Court [at Trenton], and that they still had it. * * * I answered all these objections, but the old gentleman would believe no fact however plain or probable, if it contradicted his former belief. He crowned all with this remarkable declaration: 'You are of one opinion and I am of another. I am *fixed*, and shall never change, till the day that Christ comes to judgment!'"

"Sunday, Jan. 28. This morning Mr. Bailey informs me that Parson Johnson has *changed his mind*, and thinks it will be best to hold the election!!!"

How did the civil strife end? The Legislature of Pennsylvania finally, between the years of 1788 and 1800, enacted laws calculated to settle all differences fairly and justly, but the most important was the Compromising Law of 1799. By its provision all Connecticut claimants who were actual settlers on the land prior to the Decree of Trenton, were given title from Pennsylvania, on the payment of nominal sums, ranging from \$2.00 per acre for the best land to 8 and 1-3 cents per acre for the least valuable land. Thus after 30 years of strife there was peace in Wyoming.

In Charles Miner's sketch of Rev. Jacob Johnson in "Hazleton Travelers" he says: An interesting lady, far advanced in years, who was here when the call was given, and knew him well, still speaks with enthusiasm of their old Pastor. "If there ever was a Gospel minister on earth, I do believe Priest Johnson was one. He was so earnest—so sincere; and a very learned man too. The Indians at that early day used to gather round to hear him."

"Was he eloquent as a preacher?"

"The habits of the clergy at that time were, in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, very staid, their style severe, their manners grave and demure. Like the old Puritans, they deemed it wrong to indulge in passionate declamation, or to study the graces of oratory. Argumentative, solemn and impressive, he was, generally, rather than eloquent; that is in his regular discourses; but in prayer his spirit, at times, would seem to break away from earth, warming and glowing with holy zeal, his wrapt spirit would ascend on the wings of hope and faith and carry you with him, as it were, to the very portals of Heaven. He was tall, slender, a little bent forward—very considerate in conversation—mild and sweet tempered. I was at the first wedding ever celebrated at Wilkes-Barre. It was that of Col. Denison. The bride was Miss Betsy Sill"—

"So you had a very sober time of it?"

"Not so very sober either. They tempered a staid general conduct by occasional relaxation. We had a right

merry wedding. Mr. Johnson smiled with the rest, though the fashion of the times hardly allowed a minister to smile, much more, to laugh. But when the young folks began to be noisy, he took his hat and said he 'believed it was time for him to be at home.' "

Mr. Johnson, though he lived long a bachelor, had married before he left Connecticut, a lady of much personal beauty and highly accomplished, Miss Mary Giddings of Preston, Connecticut. She was of one of the old aristocratic families of that State. I have heard the elderly ladies speak of her intelligence, her grace of manner, and with some slight envy of the beautiful gold locket which she displayed pendant to the chain of gold beads which she wore round her neck; and also of the more than common richly suit of curtains, gaily flowered by the needle on fine cambric, which decorated her bed. Their eldest daughter, Lydia, was married, soon after the commencement of the war, to Col. Zebulon Butler, who commanded the American forces in the Wyoming battle. As it was distinctly avowed by the enemy that they would make no terms with any Continental troops, Col. Butler with the 15 soldiers, the whole of that description left and retired through the wilderness to Connecticut. He threw a bed on his horse instead of a saddle, and took Mrs. Butler behind him. It was all they saved

THE IROQUOIS LANGUAGE.

While in the Indian country Mr. Johnson made a study of their language and he had no doubt that with three months' more study he could speak the Oneida language complete, and that with six months' more practice he could speak all the languages of the Six Nations, as they were so similar. Their similarity is referred to by Sir William Johnson (*Documentary History of New York*, iv, 272), who says: "The difference of dialect among the Five Nations is little more than may be found in the provinces of

the large States of Europe." In a letter to Wheelock Mr. Johnson recommended that he get a teacher of the Indian language in his school, as he considered it more important than Latin for the equipment of a missionary. "These languages," he says, "may be reduced to the rules of grammar and be learned as soon as any other, especially by those who have any taste for the oriental languages. Was it the will of God that I should spend another half year with them I think I would be master of the language." Lossing states (*Field Book* i, 349) that at an Indian conference at Wyoming in 1775, Rev. Jacob Johnson acted as interpreter. (*Miner* 183.)

In 1776, when war rumors were afloat and both Americans and British were bidding for the support of the Indians, several chiefs visited Wyoming, ostensibly for conference and presents, but as Miner thinks, to treacherously introduce the savages into the settlement without creating alarm, and then treacherously to destroy the whole. Such a visit was made by a Six Nation chief, whose speech was interpreted by Jacob Johnson. It professed to be friendly to the settlers, but carried suspicion on its face.

Latin he wrote with correctness and ease. I have seen a petition to Congress drawn by him, the original draft of which is partly in Latin—a pardonable vanity in a scholar living so secluded.

In quite advanced life he displayed what to the world might seem some of the eccentricities of genius, yet entirely consistent with the Christian character. For instance, he wore a girdle in imitation of camel hair, like John the Baptist: and his notions in respect to the second coming of our Saviour, to reign a thousand years, were somewhat peculiar. His faith was pure and lively, and he looked to that second advent as a scene the most glorious that imagination could conceive. Instead of regarding death with terror, such was the triumph of his faith, that he spoke of it as a desirable event—selected the spot for his grave; and there he would

sometimes be seen sitting at his devotions with his beloved Bible on his knee. Here the venerable patriarch chose his final resting place till the glad call of his Saviour's coming should arouse him to glory.

JACOB JOHNSON AS A SEER.

It was not unusual at the time in which Jacob Johnson lived to attribute to preachers of the Gospel certain prophetic powers befitting their holy calling. The following words descriptive of William Augustus Muhlenberg (Rev. William G. Andrews in "Standard of the Cross," February 22, 1882) would apply with equal force to Rev. Jacob Johnson, who was wont to speak of himself as a "seer:"

"If he was a saint he was also a seer. More than one of his friends ascribed to him a kind of prophetic gift, without thereby claiming for him supernatural knowledge about things future or hidden. But he undoubtedly possessed a spiritual insight, one fruit of his holiness, and a poetic temperament and activity of imagination, which together enabled him to see and to show with rare vividness, the things which ought to be and might be."

"From early life Mr. Johnson 'claimed to possess the gift of prophecy. He became somewhat visionary, and eccentric in his habits, in the latter years of his life;' he made himself a girdle of hair, which he wore, like John the Baptist, around his loins; he was a devout Second Adventist, and also believed himself to be endowed with a preternatural knowledge of coming events. At length, in the eighty-fourth year of his life, the infirmities of age began to creep upon him and there came to him one night, in a 'vision,' a mysterious forewarning of his death. This was so real and impressive that Mr. Johnson "not only made the usual preparations for dissolution," but set about digging his own grave."

OF HIS DEATH.

Wesley Johnson, Esq., a grandson of Mr. Johnson, thus describes his declining days:

"In extemporaneous pulpit oratory he did not excel, but in prayer, he seemed to throw his whole soul into the effort, forgetting surrounding objects; he was then truly eloquent. Many of his sermons were poetic effusions of no small literary merit, some of which, written in exceedingly neat and accurate chirography, the writer hereof has perused with much pleasure. The people called him Priest, a title they did not accord to the inferior clergy. * * *

"In the fulness of time the infirmities of age creep on; his stooping form and failing strength admonish him of the end of his earthly pilgrimage; and now, a vision came upon him in the night time, informing him that he was about to die, and so certain was he of the truthfulness of the heavenly messenger that he informed his family next morning of the approaching change, with as much calmness and deliberation as though he was only to make preparation for a short journey, and as an earnest of his belief in the certainty of the event, having procured a mattock and spade, with heavy steps he climbed the steep ascent of the 'Redoubt' and passed up the ridge. It was in the early spring of 1797; snow lay in spots along the northern exposure, to the south the warm sunshine had quickened the early flowers, and the plants began to put forth tiny shoots of green; the scattered leaves lay dead in the little hollows, or stranded in hazle thickets they rustled to the tread of the timid rabbit in its flight; the bluebird was flitting here and there, and the robin was making a frugal meal from the scarlet cones of the sumac on the declivity; a little glade or platform on the ridge is reached; it is a beautiful spot, just over his family burying place; the old man stopped to admire, as he had never done before.

Looking to the east, he said, 'Here will the earliest beams of the morning as they slant down into the valley carress these slopes,' and raising his hands in rapt admiration of the western prospect, 'Here will departing day linger on this spot, while dark shadows fall across the intervale beyond, and here will I be buried.' His feeble health would not permit of protracted labor, and it required some days to complete the task. At length he had shaped the narrow home appointed for all the living, on the day preceding the one on which he had foretold his end. He informed his son Jehoiada of what he had done, gave some directions for the funeral in a cheerful and unconcerned manner, and retired to rest; but ere the morning sun shone into his window the Angel of Death had passed by that peaceful cottage and breathed in the face of the good old man as he slept, and there was mourning in the little hamlet."

Rev. Jacob Johnson died March 18, 1797. His wife, who was Miss Mary Giddings of Preston, Conn., and whom he married late in life, died January 18, 1805.

Upon the death of Mrs. Johnson nearly eight years later her remains were interred by the side of those of her husband. As years passed these secluded and solitary graves were neglected, yet were not entirely forgotten. The spot was well known, although not marked by any monument or the presence of other graves. Col. W. L. Stone, writing in 1839 of the eminence upon which these graves were situated, said (see "History of Wyoming," page 327): "From its crest the landscape is as beautiful as fancy can paint. Upon the summit of this hill sleep the remains of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the first clergyman of Wyoming. He was a good scholar and a man of talents—greatly beloved by the flock over which he watched for many years. He was, however, an eccentric man, entertaining some peculiar views in theology. He believed in the second coming and

personal reign of Christ upon earth, and insisted upon being buried here, facing the east, so that he could see the glorious pageant of the Messiah in His second descent." Some thirty-five years ago the remains of Jacob Johnson and his wife were removed from "Westfield's Hill," and now rest in Hollenback Cemetery underneath a substantial and attractive monument.

Rev. Jacob and Mary (Giddings) Johnson had nine children, four of whom grew to maturity, viz.: (i) Lydia, born in 1756; became the wife of Colonel Zebulon Butler; died June 26, 1781. (ii) Jacob Williamson. (iii) Jehoiada Pitt. (iv) Christiana Olive. The last named was born in 1769 at Groton, Connecticut. She was married at Wilkes-Barre, March 25, 1801, by Dr. Matthew Covell, a justice of the peace, to William Russell, Jr. (born February 15, 1774), son of William and Mehettabel (Cowen) Russell. For a number of years William Russell, Jr., owned and carried on a pottery on River street below Union, on a part of Lot No. 9, previously mentioned. He died in Wilkes-Barre June 27, 1830, and his wife died here January 15, 1831, aged 62 years. They had no children.

"(ii) Jacob Williamson Johnson was born at Groton about 1765. Rev. Jacob Johnson sometimes, about the year 1768, signed his name "Jacob Ws. Johnson." It is quite probable that his full name was Jacob Williamson Johnson, and that within a few years after naming his son Jacob Williamson he discarded the "Williamson" from his own name. Jacob Williamson Johnson, Jr., was married, presumably at Wilkes-Barre, about 1790 or '91, to ——— Bailey. He died at his home, corner of Union and Main streets, May 22, 1807, and his wife died there September 2, 1807. They were survived by two daughters: (1) Mary Bailey, who became the wife (1st) of Albon Bulford, and (2d) of Phineas Nash Foster (born at Montpelier, Vermont

(in 1796). (2) Lydia, who in 1822 was married at Groton, Connecticut, to A. Smith of Aurelius, New York.

“(iii) Jehoiada Pitt Johnson was born at Groton in 1767, and was about 6 years old when he came to Wilkes-Barre with the other members of his father’s family. In 1789, at the age of 22 years, he was “Collector of Rates” for the district of Wilkes-Barre. In 1799 he was one of the poor-masters of the town, and prior to 1801 he held the office of Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barre for a year or more. In 1802, ’03, and ’04, and probably in other years about that period, he was Collector of State and County Taxes in the district of Wilkes-Barre. In 1802, and perhaps later, he was engaged in a small way in general mercantile business in Wilkes-Barre. In June of the year mentioned he advertised for sale an “assortment of crockery-ware”—perhaps the output of his brother-in-law’s pottery. About 1810 or ’11 Jehoiada P. Johnson removed from his house at the northeast corner of Union and River streets (which had been conveyed to him by his father, and where he had continued to live after the latter’s death) to Public Lot No. 1, which, also, had been conveyed to him by his father, in April, 1769. Upon that lot, by the side of Laurel Run, within the present bounds of the borough of Parsons, he built in 1817 a small grist-mill, which he operated until 1825—one Holgate being the miller. Later it was leased to and operated by other persons, as explained in a subsequent chapter.

“Jehoiada P. Johnson was married January 19, 1840, by Lawrence Myers, Esq., a justice of the peace, to Hannah (born 1782), daughter of Robert and Sarah Frazer.

WRITINGS OF REV. JACOB JOHNSON.

Although Mr. Johnson was one of the theological pamphleteers of his time only a few of his writings remain.

1754

1. The Voice of God from the Dead to the Living. Being a Brief Account Of a Religious Life, Comfortable Death and last Words of Mrs. Sarah Williams, Who Departed this Life April 10, A. Dom. 1754 in the Eighty Eeighth Year of her Age. And in the evening of our Anniver-sary First Made Public as a Friendly Monitor to Saints; And a Faithful Warning to Sinners. By Jacob Johnson A B Minister of the Gospel at Grafton in Connecticut in N England in America. Live Well; and thou shalt Dye Well: And Live when thou art Dead. Bible Religion New London. Printed and sold by T. Green 1754 12. mo. pp 2+26+2.

1756

2. Animadversions, with some brief Remarks by way of Answer to John Bolles of New London &c by Jacob Johnson Pastor of a church at Groton Connecticut. Printed 1756 16^o pp 30.

This was a reply to a pamphlet entitled
 "To Worship God in Spirit & in Truth Is To Worship Him in the True Liberty of Conscience; That is in Bondage to No Flesh And in this Spirit of Liberty I have composed the following Treatise And Recommend it to the Reader. John Bolles, a servant of Jesus Christ.

1765

3. Zion's Memorial of The present Work of God. The Two Witnesses. A Vission of Christ. An Essay on Vissions. Three Rules to Know a Work. The present a Work of Grace. An Address to All. By Jacob Johnson A M Minister of Christ at Groton, Connecticut, In New

England This Day shall be for a Memorial, Moses on the Passions. This is the Work of God. Christ on the Gospel. Printed in the Year 1765. 4 to pp 67.

1768

4. Honours due to the Memory and Remains of pious and good Men at Death. Shewed and Applied In a Sermon, Preached at The Funeral of Col. Christopher Avery Esq: Late of Groton, (in the Colony of Connecticut) deceased. By Jacob Johnson A. M. Preacher of the Gospel at Said Groton. "All Judah and Jerusalem did Him honour at his Death." II. Chron 32. New London. Printed by Timothy Green, 1768 8^o pp 30.

No. 1 and 2 are in Princeton University Library, and Yale University Library. No. 3 is in the Libraries of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the Connecticut Historical Society. No. 4 is in the Connecticut Historical Society and also in the American Congregational Association Library.

Jacob Johnson wrote in one of his Fort Stanwix letters that he was sending to his family some verses he had written. They have not come down to us. In a pamphlet printed by him in 1754 are some verses that are doubtless his, and gloomy specimens of theology they are, but they express the religious spirit of that day. They appear to have been suggested by the death of Mrs. Sarah Williams, described in the funeral pamphlet above alluded to. They are as follows:

THE DEAD WARNING THE LIVING.

I'm come to Warn the Youth;
 For you muft Die;
 Thofe fparkling Eyes, that rofy Blufh,
 Muft fink to hollow, change to pale,
 And be a Ghoft as I.—

I'm come to Warn the Man,
 Whofe GOD is Gold;
 Whofe Heaven is pomp'ous Pride & Scorn;
 Your golden Scene, to leaden death muft change,
 And gloomy Horrors clafp your naked Soul,
 And wreaths of Lightning flafh,
 Inftead of Tempting Gold.

I'm come to Warn the Hoary-Head,
 Whofe envious Soul with Avarice is lean;
 You'r in the Suburbs of the Damn'd, & Dead,
 While livid Flame, & Darknefs waves between,
 And Ghofts around you hover,
 Waiting tho Unfeen.—

Oh! Youth, Oh! Middle Age, and Old!
 All Souls, (I cry) Awake;
 To-Day, while it is Day, the Time, Behold,
 The Time to fcape,
 The gifly Horrors of the Burning Lake;
 Redemption to Obtain, and Heaven,
 For JESUS'S Sake.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS.

BY GRANVILLE HENRY, ESQ.

Corresponding Member.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
MAY 14, 1909.

The Pennsylvania German, otherwise the Pennsylvania Dutchman, has been the object of satire, ridicule and praise, according to the various whims of the numerous writers who sought food for the pen among these people. As a matter of fact, there are few of Dutch descent to come under the above designation.

Their ancestors were principally emigrants from the Palatinate, Wertemburg, Baden, other parts of Germany, and Switzerland were also represented.

Many American families have names literally translated from the German, and until in recent years, since genealogical research has interested them, they were in many instances probably unaware of the original derivation. Some of them, indeed, were entitled to the "von" of the nobility, but allowed the distinction to lapse as undemocratic.

It is impossible for anyone who is not a descendant, or has not been born and grown up among them, or has not passed years in Germany, and become imbued with German thoughts and emotion, to write intelligently of their worth and character. The term "Pennsylvania German" is misleading. It is more correct to say Americans of German descent. We find by their family records that many are now in the seventh and eighth generation of native born Americans. They have, as citizens of the State, taken their places as clergymen, attorneys, jurists, doctors, and in the political field as Governors and legislators. It is, however, in the agricultural work of the State that they have laid the deepest and most enduring foundation.

They are keen observers of nature and its laws, and while they do not always follow scientific methods, the system

they employ, empirical though it may be in a certain way, has resulted in the creation of farms that are models in their perfect appointments of house and barn, with all the necessary adjuncts, that are needed by the tiller of the ground. They have, as a body, constantly improved the land, so that in those parts of the State where they predominate, and after nearly two centuries of cultivation, the wilderness of their early occupation has been cleared away and seed time and harvest have taken its place. In this respect particularly has their influence grown beyond the bounds of the State of their early adoption, for where the Pennsylvania German has chosen a new home in the South or West, his habits of industry and love of home surroundings, are patent in the substantial house and barn, and well cultivated fields.*

Emigrants from Holland and Sweden had settled on land bordering upon the Delaware river long before the Proprietor landed in 1682. Their numbers, however, were fewer, and their impress upon the destiny of the State was not important as has been that of the German element. Prof. Bolles, in his work, "Pennsylvania Province and State," informs us that in the year 1683, Francis Daniel Pastorius arrived with German emigrants, who settled in Germantown. A few years after this the Germans numbered more than one thousand, most of whom had come from the vicinity of Worms, in Westphalia. Many Germans prior to 1712 had settled in New York State, but dissatisfied with their reception there, gradually drifted into Pennsylvania, where they founded new homes, greatly to the advantage of the State, as another writer tells us.

Peter Kahn, who traveled in America in 1748, mentions that the Germans in Pennsylvania advised their relatives

*The Pennsylvania German farmer has long known the value of seed selection for obtaining the best results. The methods were more primitive than those now practiced under the scientific rules of the agricultural colleges of the present time. Nevertheless, it was and is to-day a part of the farmer's work and progress.

and friends to avoid New York and settle in the former State, which many thousands did. The author of "Province and State" asserts that the Mennonites came from Cantons of Zurich, Bern, and Schaffhausen, and after the growth of a generation in Alsace, emigrated to America, where they added to the already numerous German population.

We see by these authorities that the German element in the State is nearly coeval with the English, Welsh, Scotch and Irish. This influx continued throughout the eighteenth and part of the last century, until the richer virgin soil of the great West offered greater inducements to those who sought new homes in the United States.

As most of the Germans settled in close contact with each other and were in daily intercourse, it naturally followed that they should have preserved the language of the fatherland. Their church services were, and still are, in many instances, in German, and those of the Lutheran and Reformed persuasion occupied the same church edifice, each taking an alternate Sunday. This dual use of the same building is yet followed by many congregations, the expenses, exclusive of the minister's salary, being shared by both sects. Where there are no cemeteries in which lots are private, the same burial ground is used by both congregations, and it often happens that Lutheran and Reformed are laid side by side. As a general custom the services are attended by members of either church, so that the family unity is preserved, the husband and wife accompanying each other, though they may belong to the two denominations. The Holy Sacrament, however, while there are exceptions, is, as a rule, partaken of only by those who are of the denomination of the officiating minister.

While occasional differences arise, they are comparatively rare, for their religious feelings are strong and deep. It is mainly in the urban centers where the two congregations have outgrown the capacity of the church that a change takes place and each has its own house of worship. In

many districts the services are still held in the German, in some the English is gradually being adopted, generally alternating with the German. Though the Pennsylvania German is the language of his hearers, the preacher draws his inspiration and uses the language of the German Bible. When the clergyman is a native German, he is a purist more or less, but when the speaker is an American, it sometimes happens that the discourse is uttered in words that would not receive the approval of the Weimar critics.

A great deal of ignorance prevails about the dialect in use by the Teutonic descendants in Pennsylvania. Mr. Beidleman, in a work of modest title, "The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans," has given his readers in many respects the most intelligent picture available of the people he writes about. He admits that his work is far from complete and that the true history of the Pennsylvania Germans has never been written. As a descendant of the race, and with a thorough knowledge of the dialect, he made the subject a study, having at various times visited the Palatinate, where the dialect is the language of the people at the present day. The author during his travels did not confine his observation to the towns and cities, but went into the country homes of the people. He asserts that the infusion of English words into the German American dialect has been largely caused by the abolition of German in our country schools, a change that is greatly to be deplored, as many young men who have gone from the farm to the town will acknowledge. Some of the words were in pure German and in use up to a generation ago; they are now supplanted by corrupt English. In a vocabulary Mr. Beidleman gives the Pennsylvania German with its equivalents in Pflanzisch, German, and English, showing in most of the words the identity of the Pennsylvania German with the Palatinate dialect as it is used there and to some extent throughout south Germany. It is to be understood, however, that the cultured German does not use the dialect in the Palatinate, or America.

There is no distinctive Pennsylvania German literature. Many lyrical effusions have been published in the dialect, in which the sentiments and pathos of German thought are well preserved in its most simple form and expression. Rev. Mr. Harbaugh wrote a number of poems, published in book form, and every one at all acquainted with the dialect has read "Das Alte Schulhouse on der Krick", where the grown man goes back to the days of his youth and gathers the flowers of early days, for they are fragrant to his memory. Translations from English poetry into the dialect are also found, as, for instance, Poe's "Raven", printed in the Pennsylvania German Magazine, for August, 1908, in which the weird spirit of Poe's creation is transferred to the dialect with effect. The German Bible is held in reverence in nearly all homes of the people, and the reading of it often diligently pursued and quotations made. Formerly there were always some German works in their very limited libraries, generally of a religious cast. Now the younger generation are taught to read and write English, so that papers and magazines find a larger circulation in the country than were at the disposal of their fathers and mothers.

Some local newspapers are yet published in German and find a circulation in those counties where the German Americans have their homes. In these papers, generally of weekly editions, some columns are devoted to the humorous correspondent who uses the dialect in its purity, but the reader must be a master of the language in order to understand what the writer intends to say.

Depicting scenes from the life of these people has often been attempted for the benefit of the English reader, but they are, as interpretations almost always are, failures. It is impossible for anyone without a knowledge of their domestic and economic life, their obligations to and association with each other, their sympathy and helpfulness in times of sorrow and distress, and their proverbial hospitality, to give to the general reader a true impression of their

inner and outer life, which is clothed altogether in German thought, emotion and expression. Strong and vigorous, if homely, it is the exponent and embodiment of the traditions that have come down from their emigrant ancestors, upon which the freedom of thought and action of American life has produced a striking influence. It has made them a people of honest purposes, independent in thought, resentful when their motives are assailed, claiming all that is due them, but no more.

Subserviency, as that term is generally understood, is unknown to the Pennsylvania German farmer. The owner of broad acres considers himself the equal of anyone he meets, and will address him as such. In this fact and not only among this people, but in the hearts of the great agricultural community lies the strength of our republican institutions. They are the only class who while they may be influenced are not dominated by the political manager, and in important political questions will vote according to convictions and not dictation. When this conviction has not been aroused by a great political question, the Pennsylvania German is largely influenced by heredity, and the partisanship of the ancestor is upheld by his descendants.

The Pennsylvania farmer, in his independent economic position, has no thought of class distinction; he certainly does not recognize it, and in this respect he already occupies one of the ends for which the German socialists of the present times are striving, the abrogation of class differences, but no thought of a community of goods enters his mind. He is a strict conservator of private property. Originally averse to the introduction of the common school, they are now advancing education wherever possible, and the latent mentality they possess manifests itself in the new generation, many of whom have left, and in increasing numbers are leaving, the farms, ambitious for a wider sphere of action in the ministry, law, business, and political life.

Modernity has invaded their homes, but any luxury that

finds a place there is always subordinated to the economic, so that times of financial stress do not weigh as hard upon them as upon those whose homes are in the urban centers.

Neatness and cleanliness in the house, the yard and field are a characteristic. The women love flowers, and it is rare to find even the most modest home without them in flower beds in summer and at the windows where the sun brings them life in winter.

The love of music is almost universal among this people, inherited from the ancestors who brought with them those tuneful echoes of a far off home, where the songs of the people are ingrained from the days of the troubadours. Some of these *Folkslieder* collected by Von Aminn and Brentano, both from printed and oral sources, in that remarkable work, "*Das Knaben Wunderhorn*" were still heard in the German Pennsylvania homes a generation ago.

The violin, the organ, and of late years the piano, are found in many homes, and as wealth increases and better instruction is possible, proficiency gradually advances.

The young generation is more thoroughly American than the preceding one, and adopts what is new with the greatest ease. The literature of the day has spread over the land largely through the rural free delivery. The electric road has brought many sections into closer contact with the larger towns and cities, which received their inspiration from the metropolis. This power of adaptability is very apparent in the improved taste in dress of both sexes, particularly in the young people. The girls find their field in the fashion magazines that circulate in nearly all the country homes. The illustrations make a vivid impression upon their plastic minds and the result is seen in the well made clothes, harmonious colors, and in the bearing of the wearers, conscious that they are well dressed.

The plain interior of the farm house has yielded to the changed conditions. Many are now furnished with articles of furniture and pictures that show progress in the direction

of a cultivated taste. A great deal of this is of moderate cost, though this varies with the wealth of the owner, but it all tends in the direction of art development in homes where as yet the critic has no place.

Boorishness is at times apparent, but there is at the same time much native courtesy shown in many ways; the teamster driving along the single track on a snowbound road will always, when possible, turn out for the pedestrian.

The destructive tendency of the hoodlum is foreign to the Pennsylvania German, as they have a love of order and law and respect for private property. They have a keen sense of humor, sarcasm, and repartee. To attempt the task of rendering such conversations in English would end in total failure, as has been the fate of those writers of novel and tale when they try to give the dialect in an English dress. During the past sixty years many changes have taken place in the economic life of the people here described. While the methods of the farmer were as thorough as they are to-day, the mechanical appliances were few. Reaping was done with the cradle, which had taken the place of the sickle, still used in the early part of the nineteenth century. Grass was cut with the scythe; the horse rake was introduced in the late years of 1850. The historic flail was used until the horse power threshing machine became a part of the farmer's equipment. Flax was cultivated, and the sheep, of which a limited number were generally kept, furnished the wool. The carding machine was often an adjunct of the local grist mill, where it was run by the same power. The farmer prepared the flax after the fall work on the farm was done.

The spinning and wool wheel were found in nearly every farm house, and the flax and wool was prepared for the weaver by the housewife and her daughters. The weavers had their looms either in the house or shops nearby. The fabric thus produced was coarse, but strong and durable, and formed the every-day clothing for the farmer and his

family. As a rule, it was made up by the house wife and her daughters or by local tailors. The Sunday and holiday suit of finer material was carefully preserved and the styles were not subject to the rapid changes of the present day. The spinning wheel, the reel, and the wool wheel have become things of the past, and they are now found among the collected curios of a time that has passed away. They are at times to be seen in the homes of the refined and cultured, preserved as a curious link of the olden time. Does the fair owner, as she turns the wheel, realize that a gretchen in real life may have sat beside the same wheel and spun to her plaintive song:

Mein ruh ist hin,
Mein herz ist schwer,
Ich finde sie nimmer
Under nimmer mehr?

Have some of these wheels, too, like the talking oak of Sumner Chace, received and treasured the thoughts of those who guided the flax to the spindle, telling of their joys and sorrows, and the refrain echoes of the cradle song that mellowed the hum of the wheel to the little child to whose face the mother turned from her toil?

Many of these scenes are but two generations old, and there are yet living women who spun in their youthful days. We live in an age of quick change; every successive generation looks upon the life of the preceding one as a matter of history; the present man and woman is separated from the past and assumes the new role with astonishing adaptability. Except in cases of personal worthlessness, poverty and want are not found in these country homes, and when by reason of misfortune or sickness there is need, help always comes to them. Until within recent years, visiting the sick, whether the case was contagious or not, was a universal custom and sympathetic obligation. The new rules and information disseminated by the health department, have, however, to a

great degree changed this practice, and there is now evinced a general desire to observe the law as its necessity is made clear to them. When death comes and the last rites are to be performed, relatives and friends gather at the house of mourning from all sides in numbers indicating their sympathy and respect for the deceased. In many, perhaps most instances, the traditions demand that the hospitality of the house should be exercised to its limit on these mournful occasions, and it is usual for the relatives and friends to be entertained not with "cold meats", but the best that the house can furnish. Professional grave diggers are not found in all the country congregations. Where there are none, this is generally done by neighbors at the request of the family, and these men also act as pall bearers.

The Pennsylvania German farmer, with his dialect, will continue for years to come as an important element in the State. But the young generation will demand new conditions and a more liberal consideration from the State, particularly in the way of education. They will demand, also, as a more liberal education broadens their minds and expands the mental powers of which they are possessed, that their social position should be advanced and their economy in the sustaining of urban life receive due recognition.

The cry "back to the farms" has no temptation to those who have been brought under the glamour of urban life. The young men and women who leave their homes to better their condition economically, socially or otherwise, go back to the country only in rare instances. The poor remuneration for the farmer in nearly all the Eastern States for a number of years, the difficulty of obtaining competent help both for the farmer and his wife, the spread of education, that most powerful agent of the time, and, not least, the social handicap, has influenced the young men and women to desert their homes for urban life, in which their great adaptability in so many ways promises greater rewards.

MARRIAGE RECORD OF REV. WILLIAM K. MOTT,
1832-1885.

Elder Mott was pastor of the Baptist Church in and around Pittston, Pa., from 1833 to 1871. The following sketch of his life appeared in the *Carbondale Leader*, 1887. The list of marriages has been kindly copied and contributed by Mr. Arthur D. Dean, a member of this Society:

"Elder William K. Mott was licensed to preach at Middletown, Susquehanna County, in March, 1832, Rev. J. B. Parker, a missionary of the New York Baptist convention, having come into northeastern Pennsylvania as a general missionary. Their method of travel was on horseback. From Middletown they first went to Laceyville, thence down the Susquehanna to Mehoopany, Tunkhannock, Exeter, Northmoreland and Wilkes-Barré. At all these places meetings were held. From thence they traveled to Plymouth, called at that time Shawnee, Nanticoke, Hunlocks Creek, and held meetings. Two other missionaries came into the Wyoming Valley about this time, Revs. Charles Morton and Philip P. Brown. The latter located at Pittston. In August, 1833, at the Bridgewater Association, in the church at Laceyville, Rev. W. K. Mott was ordained to the gospel ministry. He soon entered the Lackawanna Valley and began preaching. After three years of labor in this extensive field many of his people moved out west of Chicago. They desired him to go along, but instead he removed to Hyde Park and took up his residence there, April 15, 1837. It contained then just twenty families, and only three members of the Baptist Church. His preaching stations were Pittston, Hyde Park, Providence, Blakely and Greenfield, and for a time he was the only minister in all this valley. From Pittston to Blakely he visited in two years every family on the route, and the population was less than 2,000.

On the east side of the Lackawanna, where Scranton is, was only a saw and grist-mill, and the Slocum house. There was a plank foot-bridge across the river at Dodgetown, and to get across the river where Lackawanna avenue now is he took off his shoes and stockings and waded across. He then went up to the saw-mill and got some lumber to build a barn. He got a man to haul it, and as they were fording the river at Dodgetown he sat on the load and said to Mr. Atherton, who was driving, "These side hills and this valley will yet be covered by a great city." He has lived to see his prophecy fulfilled. August 26, 1849, the First Baptist Church of Scranton was organized under his ministry. This is now located on Scranton street. His account of meetings, and his 'valley experiences,' as he called them, were thrilling. His references to praying loud as he went along the road through the then wilderness, were very touching. His toils and sacrifices were truly heroic, and to him is really due the first permanent establishment of Baptist worship in Scranton. On one occasion he lost his horse and had to go to his appointment 'on his feet,' as he quaintly expressed it. Elder Mott has attended over 1,000 funerals, all the way from Wilkes-Barré to Carbondale, of persons who have been buried in seventy-five different grave-yards. He has married over 300 couples, and baptized several hundred converts. He paid a good tribute to Elder John Miller, the old pastor who settled in Waverly in 1800, for his noble endeavors for Christ. All through this and the adjoining valleys are many homes where the name Elder Mott is a household word. He has preached in all the other churches hereabouts, and has been the pastor of many of them."

Adam Tedrick to Mary Armstrong.

George McAlpine to Frances Giddings.

James Giddings to Mary Ann Pratt.

Samuel Price to Zilla Armstrong.

John Armstrong to Mary Wood.
Timothy Goble to Elizabeth Ayres.
Orlando Boardman to Ann Goble.
Amos Jackson to Annis White.
Palmer Jenkins to Jane Brown.
Clark Wolfe to Alitheah Goss.
Martin Dailey to Hannah Phillips.
Milton G. Phillips to Sarah Hall.
Thomas Slocum to Sarah Jenkins.
James Knapp to ——— Wilbur.
Joseph Atherton to Harriet Merchant.
Freeman Moore to Caroline Hollenback.
John Hollenback to Orpha Dart.
Ashael Gardner to Olive Mills.
Benjamin Bowen to Lucina Callender.
Edmund Heemans to S. M. Slocum.
William Stevens to Henrietta Slocum.
William Miller to Eliza Vosburg.
——— Newton to Parmelia Benedict.
William Corbin to Lucretia Atherton.
Samuel Vaughn to Harriet Stevens.
Newell Callender to Harriet Ferris.
Jonathan Jones to Hannah Phillips.
Theron Ferris to Harriet Callender.
Samuel Saylor to Julia Ferris.
Milton G. Phillips to Phebe Vandeburg.
E. A. Atherton to Phebe Lewis.
Tracy Smith to Maria Rumerford.
Albert Warner to Mary Bogard.
Samuel Wheeler to Frances Miller.
Aaron Silkman to Celestia Clark.
Horton Callender to Tabitha Parker.
Nathaniel Depew to Mary Perry.
David Perkins to Mrs. Pettebone.
William Mannes to Louisa Carpenter.
Peter Snyder to ——— Whaling.

George McAlpine to L. M. Giddings.
Willet McDaniels to Sarah Wells.
Daniel Brundage to M. L. Winton.
Horace B. Simrell to Louisa Carpenter.
William A. Miller to Caroline Wetherby.
William Knapp to Ruth Knapp.
Ira C. Atherton to M. I. Pulver.
Henry Cross to Mary Bond.
Henry Chase to Sarah Gardner.
Edwin Fell to Ruby Bennett.
Nathan C. Church to Rachel E. Downy.
Andrew Kunsman to Emily Isby.
Henry Bous to Viana Race.
John Weaver to Margaret Lannan.
Abel Bennett to Adelaide Johnson.
John Hyde to Mrs. Wingard.
Joseph Randolph to E. A. Dodge.
Zeno Albro to Mary Clark, December, 1847.
Milton Britton to Margaret Tedrick.
Robert Mitchell to Mary Griffis.
Henry Kilmore to Elizabeth Coon.
Jerome Moon to Ann Jones.
Egbert Snyder to Sabrina Wilsey.
Silas Ellis to Caroline Adams, July 13, 1848.
Felix Walter to Mary Griner, May 7, 1849.
George W. Willets to Eliza Tannel, May 15, 1849.
Joseph Knapp to Elmira Brown, June 7, 1849.
LaGrange Damon to Mary I. Brown, June 7, 1849.
Henry R. Manness to Sarah A. Axford, June 13, 1849.
Pelatiah Miller to Diana Simrell, July 4, 1849.
George W. Sands to Ruth Phillips, September 26, 1849.
David Clemons to Ruth A. Hitchcock, October 9, 1849.
Charles Jones to Margaret Ripp, October 12, 1849.
W. S. Courtright to Catharine Washburn, Nov. 7, 1849.
Samuel Dolph to Mindwell Ward, December 25, 1849.
James Gorsline to ——— Williams, January 16, 1850.

- John Silkman to Sarah Shaver, February 5, 1850.
Ezra Peters to Euthenia Ferris, April 4, 1850.
Edward Spencer to Susan Hines, July 24, 1850.
David Lewis to Mary Lewis, July 31, 1850.
William Jayne to Sarah Case, September 20, 1850.
Norman Wheeler to Eleanor Ringsdorf, October 19, 1850.
A. I. Whaling to Catharine Brown, October 23, 1850.
Almond Reynolds to Mary Wright, February 12, 1851.
John Owens to Mary Ann Morgan, May 18, 1851.
Moses Curtis to Mary Miller, October 19, 1851.
Eri Poor to Margaret Silvernail, November 6, 1851.
Cornelius Jacobus to Susan Nichols, November 9, 1851.
John Jones to Mary Ann Kenyon.
Henry R. Bishop to Rebecca Colsher, December 25, 1851.
Henry Shumm to Lucretia Woding, December 25, 1851.
Francis Gregg to Emily Davenport, February 17, 1852.
Linus Gardner to Mary I. Dodge, February 22, 1852.
Peter Blume to Ann Griffin, April 4, 1852.
Silvius Wolcott to Ann Minerva Hines, July 1, 1852.
William Miller to Polly Sears, July 3, 1852.
James Green to M. A. Allen, July 22, 1852.
Lewis Evans to Margaret W. Hitchinson, August 5, 1852.
George Canday to Mahala Stevens, August 31, 1852.
William Phillips to Catherine Merrifield, Sept. 14, 1852.
James Knight to Mary Gray, September 24, 1852.
Francis B. Davison to Nancy Gardner, October 7, 1852.
Zenas Barnum to Maria Clark, October 26, 1852.
William Wallace to Ann Agnes Austin, January 24, 1853.
William Blackman to Catherine Knickerbocker, January 29, 1853.
Curtis Hawes to Julia A. Woodruff, March 8, 1853.
Christopher Felts to Harriet Atherton, March 24, 1853.
James Sykes to Sarah Earp, April 10, 1853.
I. A. Wilsey to Allie M. Kilmer, June 15, 1853.
Freeman H. Carey to Diana Stevens, June 21, 1853.
L. L. Griffin to Emeline Swartz, July 25, 1853.

- Daniel Wagner to M. M. Spencer, August 18, 1853.
Judson Clark to Amy Ann Sherman, September 14, 1853.
L. H. Mills to Jane Kilmer, October 4, 1853.
Jacob Whitbeck to Catherine Ferris, October 27, 1853.
Edgar D. Dodge to S. M. Griffin, December 21, 1853.
Henry Rumerfield to Catherine Phillips, January 1, 1854.
R. W. Luce to Adelia Tedrick, December 27, 1854.
J. B. Kirkpatrick to M. I. Courtright, January 7, 1854.
Norman Miller to ——— Van Camp.
John Faurot to Mary Wolfinger, April 1, 1854.
James F. Friant to Amanda R. Krigbaum, April 6, 1854.
John L. Chapman to Phebe A. Spencer, April 9, 1854.
George W. VanLouvener to Harriet Agan, May 27, 1854.
Benjamin F. Davis to Amelia Knapp, August 27, 1854.
William Knapp to Catherine Arms, August 27, 1854.
Peter Marsh to Louisa M. Stevens, August 30, 1854.
Orlando D. Sherman to Helen H. Kenner, Oct. 1, 1854.
J. H. Berge to Hannah Sisson, November 11, 1854.
Seward E. Miller to Effie Ann Gardner, January 3, 1855.
B. F. Ward to Lydia A. Taylor, July 4, 1855.
W. H. Pier to Frances Throop, January 25, 1855.
G. A. Tennant to Hannah Bloom, January 27, 1855.
Peter Pulver to Mary Brown, January 27, 1855.
William Wheeler to Polly Moore, February 17, 1855.
Benjamin Bevan to Mary Ann Jones, February 22, 1855.
Freeman Moore to Sarah Shafer, April 1, 1855.
Andrew Leighton to Margaret Atwater, July 17, 1855.
Charles Davis to Ellen Simrell, September, 1855.
Silas Osterhout to Catherine Tedrick, October 8, 1855.
Jeremiah C. Clark to Amy Tedrick, December 20, 1855.
Jared C. Warner to Achsah Kingsley, February 9, 1856.
William H. Dolph to Elmira L. Wright, July 3, 1856.
Zenas Hitchcock to R. A. Blume, September 7, 1856.
Henry Ward to Sophia Geisler, September 9, 1856.
Ludwig Von Storch to Sarah McDaniels, October 1, 1856.
J. H. Butler to Arminda Williams, October 12, 1856.

Russell Blanshan to M. A. Rice, November 27, 1856.
Isaac Ellis to M. E. Coon, February 5, 1857.
William Moscrip to Clarissa A. Porter, February 19, 1857.
Micah Vail to C. A. Hubbard, March 26, 1857.
Samuel Higby to Lucy Fuller, April 15, 1857.
George Bass to Helen Mott, May 5, 1857.
George Tompkins to Phebe J. Coleman, May 17, 1857.
Augustus Z. Long to Mary Ann Grattan, July 2, 1857.
Brundage C. Williams to Mary E. Lathrop, Aug. 12, 1857.
William P. Burdick to Martha E. Hubbard, Sept. 2, 1857.
Alfred Gotshaw to Caroline Hines, October 31, 1857.
Oliver Coon to Sarah S. Murdock, November 21, 1857.
J. W. Lanning to Sarah Little, December 31, 1857.
Eliab F. Vail to Gertrude E. Taylor, January 27, 1858.
Nelson Jenkins to Emeline Robinson, April 29, 1858.
Russell L. Root to Mary Spoor, June 15, 1858.
Windsor Foster to Martha Bush, June 27, 1858.
Silas R. Moon to Mary E. Ward, September 11, 1858.
Moses Magee to Jane Young, December 7, 1858.
H. S. Cooper to Augusta Weed, December 29, 1858.
James H. Coil to Elizabeth H. Sands, January 5, 1859.
Clark Harrison to Catherine M. Decker, Feb. 22, 1859.
William N. Sherman to Margaret M. Knapp, March 17, 1859.
William Case to Louisa Eurydice Leonard, April 7, 1859.
Ziba Wood to Caroline Ryder, May 28, 1859.
Judson T. Smith to Jerusha Street, June 29, 1859.
W. L. Mace to Laura Isabel Douglas, June 29, 1859.
Enoch A. Ryder to Julia A. Gray, October 13, 1859.
Lafayette Decker to Julia Milton, November 19, 1859.
J. C. Edwards to Ann Shinton, January 21, 1860.
Monroe B. Dean to Louisa M. Rice, February 9, 1860.
John Morgan to Elizabeth Evart, February 19, 1860.
William Prosser to Gwenny Lewis, May 25, 1860.
Robert O. Leas to Margaret Moore, July 3, 1860.
Stephen Killhorn to Mary A. Daily, August 23, 1860.

- Brooks A. Bass to Maggie A. Peckens, September 4, 1860.
James Montanye to Carrie Baldwin, September 11, 1860.
Philotus Snedikor to Martha O. Holcomb, Sept. 13, 1860.
Jacob Gisner to Harriet N. Tennant, November 1, 1860.
J. D. Peck to Delana Stone, November 17, 1860.
N. D. Barnes to Henrietta Gnoslin, December 23, 1860.
Sebold Roff to Chloe Gorman, March 16, 1861.
Rittner Griffin to Frances A. Robinson, June 26, 1861.
Robert Merrifield to C. J. Stark, September 11, 1861.
William H. Giddings to Samantha Newman, October 24, 1861.
Joseph Church to Charlotte Stevens, January 6, 1862.
Henry Knapp to Ann M. Smith, January 23, 1862.
Christopher F. Ward to Phebe Ann Atherton, October 18, 1862.
Joseph M. Pruner to Martha Atherton, October 29, 1862.
Dewitt C. Marean to Susanna Smith, November 1, 1862.
A. L. Kenner to C. A. Marshall, November 21, 1862.
D. P. Pierce to N. E. Giddings, December 11, 1862.
Orlando Chapman to Ellen Decker, October 2, 1863.
John R. Davis to Anna Davis, October 3, 1863.
George W. Nogles to Rebecca A. Miller, Nov. 18, 1863.
Joshua Robsonwin to Sarah Frances Wirts, November 21, 1863.
Matthew H. Dale to Sally Allis, December 22, 1863.
Jesse G. Green to Jane M. Hunter, January 6, 1864.
William McClave to Mary Rolland, April 11, 1864.
Darius C. Aton to Elizabeth Davis, May 7, 1864.
William McClave to Mary Young, May 9, 1864.
H. Forsman to Kate Fellows, October 6, 1864.
G. H. Spark to Mary A. Darran, December 2, 1864.
G. W. Carlton to Sarah S. Fellows, December 24, 1864.
John McGuire to Melissa McNulty, February 8, 1865.
Alvin Ayres to Elizabeth Pugh, February 20, 1865.
R. T. C. Knapp to Kate Wells, May 10, 1865.
Israel Vosburg to Sarah E. Collum, July 30, 1865.

- I. G. Maxwell to Julia McKeever, September 19, 1865.
F. W. Oram to E. E. Fellows, October 25, 1865.
Elbert N. Barney to Sarah L. Carpenter, Nov. 23, 1865.
John Delinott to Mary A. Guard, February 21, 1866.
Austin Peckins to Addie Oran, April 11, 1866.
Solomon VanSickle to Jane Vosburg, April 28, 1866.
Albert S. Whittaker to Mary M. Frink, May 23, 1866.
Lewis Campbell to Mary M. Peckins, May 24, 1866.
J. C. Aton to E. S. Fuller, June 9, 1866.
Frank E. Fuller to Anna Smith, September 15, 1866.
T. J. Fisher to Alice Hower, December 18, 1866.
Charles Miller to Roxana Barnes, January 30, 1867.
George W. Barton to Lydia A. Potter, February 26, 1867.
George W. Myers to Abi N. Slocum, March 9, 1867.
Joseph Sweetser to Emma H. Chamberlin, March 14, 1867.
W. H. Everson to Olive A. Benedict, May 16, 1867.
John Gehling to Martha Jeremiah, July 4, 1867.
George W. Hutchinson to Mary E. Street, Dec. 12, 1867.
Edgar Doremis to Anna J. Peckins, February 6, 1867.
George Gathercole to Phebe A. Chapman, April 11, 1868.
L. W. Deyoe to Catherine Masters, October 13, 1868.
T. B. Sweetser to Sarah Chamberlin, November 12, 1868.
Benjamin Slocum to Mary P. Waters, December 2, 1868.
H. C. Watkins to M. J. Millius, March 31, 1869.
Simeon Ringsdorf to Elizabeth Williams, Aug. 21, 1869.
Samuel S. Smith to Georgia R. Oram, Sept. 29, 1869.
John H. Getz to Sarah Deitrick, January 11, 1870.
Benson Davis to Orpha Hoover, June 19, 1870.
John Stout to Lydia J. Harris, July 10, 1870.
Jacob D. Clark to Laurette A. Reed, July 26, 1870.
Joshua A. Maxwell to Rosa Wilson, September 22, 1870.
Elijah R. Scureman to Ellen M. Igae, September 25, 1870.
Robert M. Lynch to Ellen B. Harris, October 13, 1870.
Robert Von Storch to Arabel Rogers, October 25, 1870.
William A. Weaver to Josephine F. Rozell, Aug. 31, 1871.

- Losey Litts to Elizabeth C. Steward, May 10, 1872.
—— Sidbottom to Hattie Frost, September 28, 1872.
Hobart Handford to Henrietta Griffin, Nov. 25, 1873.
John Coons to Eva J. LaRue, April 28, 1874.
Peter Deitrick to Ella Sherman, May 7, 1874.
George D. Leisenring to Mary H. Stevens, May 21, 1874.
Stephen T. Farnham to Hannah Williams, Sept. 23, 1874.
Harvey Gillett to Julia E. Cuyle, September 8, 1875.
John Ringsdorf to Rosell Brownell, September 13, 1875.
Eli Snyder to Carrie Thompson, February 16, 1876.
G. W. Rankin to Hattie Hartman, March, 1876.
P. N. Cease to Anna Davis, December 13, 1876.
George Ross to Elizabeth E. Davis, July 21, 1877.
Joseph W. Patten to Mary E. Lewis, June 20, 1878.
Oristus T. Hull to Annie E. Wells, November 7, 1878.
Albert R. Sherman to Minna H. Weitzel, Oct. 22, 1878.
Isaac Phillips to Lois L. White, March 7, 1880.
John Keller to Mary E. Swallow, March 29, 1880.
Thomas R. Owens to Jennie Millard, May 27, 1880.
James D. Leach to Emma C. White, July 10, 1881.
Eugene A. White to Mary E. Colvin, September 21, 1881.
S. P. Crossman to Laura C. Kennedy, October 9, 1881.
Charles E. Winters to Mary Decker, June 4, 1882.
Truman E. Clark to Ella E. Smith, September 19, 1882.
W. E. Hubbard to H. J. Lucky, December 24, 1882.
Lafayette C. Ackerly to Elizabeth Morgan, Oct. 4, 1883.
Leslie H. White to Bell Branning, June 8, 1884.
Alson L. Raught to Huldah Wetherby, March 14, 1885.

VITAL STATISTICS OF THE WYOMING SECTION, PENNSYLVANIA.

THE ROSS FAMILY.

The Publishing Committee have fully realized the fact that the vital statistics of any settled section form a most important part of its history. Therefore, in the several volumes of the "Publications and Collections" of this Society much space has been accorded to the early records of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths of Wyoming.

In Volumes IV, VII and X the marriages and deaths, carefully compiled from the newspapers of Luzerne county, from 1797 to 1818, and from 1828 to 1836, have been published. Those which have not been compiled, from 1819 to 1827, inclusive, and from 1836 to 1850, will be issued later.

In the eleven volumes of the "Proceedings, etc.," of this Society, will be found the following valuable records:

1. The First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barré, 1802-1829, in Volume VI, pp. 295-307.
2. The marriages in Abingdon Township, Luzerne County, 1802-1850, by Rev. John Miller, in Volume VII, pp. 171-177.
3. The marriages by Rev. Henry Hunter Welles, D. D., of Forty Fort, 1850-1894, in Volume VIII, pp. 292-299.
4. The marriages of Rev. William K. Mott, of the Baptist Church, Pittston Township, Luzerne County, 1832-1885, in the present volume, pp. 211-220.

The Publishing Committee has also in hand, ready for publication in later volumes, the valuable records of St. Stephen's Church (Protestant Episcopal), Wilkes-Barré, 1814-1850.

Also the vital statistics of that honoured Minister of the Gospel, the Rev. Davis Dimock, 1776-1858, for fifty-five years a Baptist Minister in the Wyoming section, 1803-1858, and for twenty-seven years an Associate Judge of Susquehanna County, whose interesting journal is in the keeping of this Society.

The Committee will be glad to receive and publish such vital statistics of early days from any clergyman or religious body in this section. It will also welcome exact, verbatim, copies of Family Bible records prior to 1850, relating to the early families of Northeastern Pennsylvania. One such record is herewith given from the Family Bible of the late General William Ross, whose name is one of high repute in this section. The records cover the period from 1725 to 1844. The Bible is now the property of Mrs. Sidney B. Roby, of Rochester, N. Y.

THE ROSS FAMILY RECORD.

MARRIAGES.

Jeremiah Ross was married to Ann Paine October 31, 1744.
William Ross was married to Eliza Sterling.

BIRTHS.

Jeremiah Ross, son of Joseph Ross, by Sarah Utley, his wife, was born July 26, 1721.
Aleph Ross, daughter of Jeremiah Ross and Ann Paine, his wife, born December 17, 1745.
Ann, daughter to Do, born January 5, 1747.
Perrin Ross, son to Do, was born July 4, 1748.
Sarah Ross, daughter of Do, born February 11, 1750.
Diana Ross, daughter of Do, born November 18, 1751.
Mary Ross, daughter of Do, born December 21, 1753.
Lucy Ross, daughter of Do, born October 14, 1755.
Jeremiah Ross, son of Do, born January 6, 1759.
William Ross, son of Do, born March 29, 1761.
Elizabeth Ross, daughter of Do, born June 10, 1764. [Married—John Gore, born February 25, 1764.]

Samuel Sterling and Elizabeth Perkins, his wife.
Irene Sterling, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth, born October 17, 1758.
Sarah Sterling, daughter of Do, born December 20, 1761.
Caroline Sterling, daughter of Do, May 21, 1764.
Samuel Sterling, son of Do, born September 17, 1766.
Elizabeth Sterling, daughter of Do, born November 3, 1768.
James Sterling, son of Do, born December 25, 1770.

Ruth Sterling, daughter of the same, born September 27, 1773.

Lucy Sterling, daughter of Do, born December 9, 1775.

Lord Sterling, son of Samuel Sterling and Sarah Stow, born April 3, 1780.

Hannah Sterling, daughter of Do, born September 3, 1782.

An infant son of William Ross and Eliza Sterling, his wife, born July 6, 1792; died July 9, 1792.

Sarah Sterling, daughter of Do, born August 25, 17—

Caroline Ann, daughter of Do, born February 24, 1797.

Eliza Irene, daughter of Do, born August 25, 17—

William Sterling, son of Do, born August 11, 1802.

DEATHS.

Mary Ross, aged about 79 years, died at Windham, Conn., November 8, 1725.

Jeremiah Ross, died at Wilkes-Barré, February 8, 1777.

Ann Ross, wife of Do, died at Wilkes-Barré, March 22, 1813.

Aleph, daughter of Do, died at Wilkes-Barré, February 8, 1814.

Perrin and Jeremiah, sons of Do, both killed in Wyoming Massacre, July 3, 1778. [Perrin Ross, m—1770, Marcy Otis, of Montville, Conn., born June 5, 1747.]

Diana Wadhams, wife of Rev. Noah Wadhams, died October —, 1804. [Rev. Noah Wadhams died in Plymouth, May 22, 1806, aged 80.]

Sarah, wife of Giles Slocum, died at Saratoga, N. Y., November 26, 1820.

Ann Baker, wife of Zebulon Baker, departed this life November 9, 1805.

Zebulon Baker, departed this life December 18, 1818.

William Ross, died August 9, 1842.

Lucy Davis, died January 6, 1844.

Elizabeth Gore, wife of John Gore, died—

OFFICIAL LIST OF REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS IN THE COUNTIES OF PIKE, SUSQUEHANNA
AND WAYNE, PENNSYLVANIA, FROM UNITED STATES PENSION ROLLS, 1835.

(Continued from Vol. X, page 227.)

Pike County, pp. 34, 116, 179.

NAME.	Rank.	Annual allow- ance.	Sums re- ceived.	Description of service.	When placed on the pension roll.	Commencement of pension.	Laws, under which they were formerly inscribed on the pension roll; and remarks.
Peter Benson.....	Private	72 00	139 60	Scott's Co. 15th Inf'y	April 25, 1832	Mar. 28, 1832	Acts military establishment.
<i>Pike County, p. 116.</i>							
Alexander Buchanan...	Private	96 00	89 11	Penna. Cont'l line	Dec. 1, 1818	April 21, 1818	62 Died March 25, 1819.
Richard Lewis.....	do	96 00	1230 57	N. Jersey cont'l	Nov. 30, 1818	May 1, 1818	78 Died February 23, 1831.
William Mapes.....	do	96 00	1474 36	do	Aug. 13, 1818	Mar. 26, 1818	74
Henry Quick.....	do	96 00	1523 69	do	Mar. 30, 1819	April 21, 1818	73
Abraham Roser.....	do	96 00	159 88	do	Sept. 6, 1819	Mar. 19, 1819	56 Died November 17, 1820.
John Strunk.....	do	96 00	1136 67	Penn. cont'l line	Dec. 11, 1818	May 2, 1818	83
Frederick Shuff.....	do	96 00	345 54	N. York cont'l	July 3, 1830	July 3, 1830	80
Samuel C. Seeley.....	Lieutenant	240 00	325 99	N. Jersey cont'l	Dec. 1, 1818	April 26, 1818	
Ralph Woolman.....	Private	96 00	467 69	Mass. cont'l	Nov. 5, 1818	April 21, 1818	90
Samuel Whitehead.....	do	96 00	133 32	N. Jersey cont'l	Nov. 30, 1818	do	70 Died September 10, 1819.

Pike County, p. 179.

Gavett Brodhead.....	Ser. & pri.	60 00	180 00	N. Jersey militia	Mar. 25, 1833	Mar. 4, 1831	78
Enos Cook.....	Private	46 66	93 32	Mass. continental	Mar. 27, 1833	do	75
William Cox.....	do	57 09	171 27	N. Jersey militia	Mar. 28, 1833	do	83
Gabriel Cory.....	do	26 66	79 98	do	May 9, 1833	do	80
John Coolbaugh.....	do	43 33	129 99	N. J. State	Nov. 23, 1833	do	74
Andrew Dinyman.....	do	80 00	200 00	N. J. militia	Dec. 12, 1833	do	81
Stephen Emerson.....	Pri. art. & dragon	39 00	117 00	Conn. militia	Mar. 23, 1833	do	81
Samuel Helm.....	Private	80 00	240 00	Indian spy	Dec. 8, 1832	do	74
David Johnston.....	Pri. & for- age mas.	83 33	208 32	N. Jersey militia	July 11, 1833	do	79
Henry C. T. Middough..	Private	80 00	240 00	Penn. militia	May 20, 1834	do	80

Jabez Rockwell.....	Pri. & after	59 40	178 20	Conn. State troops	Mar. 19, 1833	do	73
Barnardus Swartwood.	Private	80 00	160 00	Penn. militia	Mar. 27, 1833	do	74
Samuel Vangorder.....	do	30 00	90 00	do	Feb. 23, 1832	do	81
Benjamin Vanaken.....	do	20 00	60 00	do	Nov. 23, 1833	do	78
Gideon Westbrook.....	do	36 67	91 67	N. Y. militia	Oct. 31, 1833	do	73

Susquehanna County, p. 35.

Seth Bisbee.....	Corporal	48 00	902 00	Cilley's 21st inf.	Mar. 8, 1816	May 21, 1815	Military establishment. Transferred from New Hampshire.
do	do	72 00			Mar.	29, 1834	March 29, 1834. Raised on account of increase of disability.
Lemuel Smedley.....	Private	96 00	581 31	30th reg't U. S. inf.	April 11, 1828	Feb. 14, 1828	Acts military establishment.

Susquehanna County, pp. 118-119.

Jedediah Adams.....	Private	96 00	1519 99	Conn. cont'l line	May 5, 1818	Sept. 8, 1819	72
Nehemiah Barnes.....	Sergeant	96 00	1522 63	do	July 22, 1819	April 25, 1818	74
Elias Bennett.....	Effier	96 00	1140 47	do	Sept. 6, 1819	April 11, 1818	67
Isaac Brownson.....	Private	96 00	634 32	do	June 15, 1820	June 5, 1819	75
Bristoll Budd, alias Sampson.....	do	96 00	1520 29	do	July 23, 1821	April 30, 1818	71
Eli Catlin.....	Captain	240 00	459 99	do	Jan. 15, 1819	April 4, 1818	87
Daniel Chamberlain.....	Private	96 00	1529 03	N. H. cont'l line	June 13, 1820	April 1, 1818	73
William Chamberlain.....	Sergeant	96 00	1321 93	do	April 11, 1822	May 20, 1818	82
William Chamberlain.....	Private	96 00	1475 99	Conn. cont'l line	May 16, 1820	April 9, 1818	79
David Demock.....	do	96 00	1328 13	do	Jan. 15, 1819	April 15, 1818	87
Isaac David.....	do	96 00	1508 49	Penn. cont'l line	July 14, 1819	May 4, 1818	80
Ezra Doty.....	do	96 00	1527 69	Mass. cont'l line	Nov. 30, 1819	April 6, 1818	73
John Eldred.....	do	96 00	426 68	Conn. cont'l line	Oct. 22, 1819	April 18, 1818	69
Jonathan Edwards.....	do	96 00	1510 89	do	Aug. 4, 1820	June 9, 1818	74
Consider Fuller.....	Corporal	96 00	184 76	Mass. cont'l line	Mar. 9, 1819	April 2, 1818	65
Andrew Hendrake.....	Private	96 00	144 13	Conn. cont'l line	June 12, 1819	April 15, 1818	77
Timothy Halls.....	do	96 00	1235 96	Mass. cont'l line	July 16, 1819	April 20, 1818	73
Israel Hewitt.....	do	96 00	1525 66	Conn. cont'l line	July 22, 1819	April 24, 1818	73
Barthlett Hinds.....	Captain	240 00	360 00	Mass. cont'l line	Mar. 19, 1821	April 12, 1818	79

Susquehanna County, pp. 118-119—continued.

NAME.	Rank.	Annual allow- ance.	Sums re- ceived.	Description of service.	When placed on the pension roll.	Commencement of pension.	Age	Laws under which they were formerly inscribed on the pension roll, and remarks.
Joshua Jackson.....	Private	96 00	1524 49	do	June 12, 1819	April 8, 1818	73	
Hezekiah Leach.....	do	96 00	513 38	Conn. cont'l line	July 12, 1819	April 20, 1818	82	Died August 25, 1823.
Almond Munson.....	do	96 00	993 31	do	July 22, 1819	May 4, 1818	73	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820. Restored from March 1, 1823.
Josiah Mills.....	do	96 00	1436 33	Mass. cont'l line	Nov. 15, 1819	April 7, 1818	70	Died March 23, 1833.
Robert Nicholls.....	do	96 00	1504 25	Conn. cont'l line	June 4, 1819	July 4, 1818	82	
Jonathan Newman.....	do	96 00	709 33	N. Y. cont'l line	July 16, 1819	April 15, 1818	82	
Daniel Lawrence.....	Ensign	240 00	3691 32	R. I. cont'l line	Jan. 15, 1819	April 18, 1818	76	
Isaac Ryneerson.....	Private	96 00	240 27	N. J. cont'l line	Nov. 30, 1819	Oct. 29, 1819	76	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820. Restored.
Joseph Ransford.....	do	96 00	203 71	Conn. cont'l line	Nov. 22, 1830	Jan. 1, 1828	81	Died February 13, 1830.
Robert Shundler.....	do	96 00	171 61	do	June 10, 1819	May 21, 1818	74	
William Stevens.....	do	96 00	813 96	Penn. cont'l line	Sept. 15, 1819	Mar. 13, 1819	72	
Ichabod Seaver.....	do	96 00	1161 02	Mass. cont'l line	Sept. 8, 1819	May 5, 1818	76	
David Shearer.....	do	96 00	1233 28	N. H. cont'l line	May 23, 1820	May 4, 1818	75	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820. Restored Mar. 1, 1824, commencing Mar. 1, 1823.
Obadiah Thatcher.....	do	96 00	1519 99	Mass. cont'l line	July 12, 1819	May 5, 1818	77	
Joseph Thomas.....	do	96 00	1020 11	do	Oct. 2, 1819	Aug. 25, 1819	74	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820. Restored January 31, 1826.
Moses Tyler.....	do	96 00	1525 29	do	Nov. 26, 1819	April 15, 1818	68	
David Taylor.....	do	96 00	181 83	do	May 16, 1820	April 13, 1818	68	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820.
Peter Tozer.....	do	96 00	1092 79	N. H. cont'l line	Nov. 28, 1818	April 14, 1818		Transferred from New York from September 4, 1820. Died Sep- tember 1, 1829.
Sylvanus Wade.....	do	96 00	803 03	Mass. cont'l line	Sept. 14, 1819	April 8, 1818	62	Died August 19, 1826.
Joseph Williams.....	do	96 00	180 49	N. J. cont'l line	Sept. 6, 1819	April 18, 1818	62	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820.
John Whiteley.....	do	96 00	1316 49	N. H. cont'l line	Nov. 25, 1819	do	78	Died January 4, 1832.
Simon Wylie.....	do	96 00	1433 16	N. Y. cont'l line	Nov. 26, 1819	Sept. 23, 1818	76	

Samuel Woodruff.....	do	96 00	468 76	Conn. cont'l line	July	21, 1819	April	17, 1818	83
Ichabod Ward.....	do	96 00	230 00	do	Sept.	8, 1819	April	7, 1818	73
Cornelius B. Westbrook.	do	96 00	598 66	Penn. cont'l line	June	17, 1825	June	10, 1825	74

<i>Susquehanna County, p. 183.</i>									
Asa Adams.....	Private	30 00	55 81	Mass. militia	Oct.	10, 1833	Mar.	4, 1831	83
Isaac Ballard.....	do	80 00	240 00	Mass. State troops	Feb.	15, 1833	do	do	84
John Biadell.....	do	35 74	107 22	N. H. militia	May	4, 1833	do	do	69
Nathaniel Balcom.....	do	70 00	210 00	Conn. cont'l line	June	28, 1833	do	do	80
Reuben Beebee.....	Drummer	66 00	198 00	do	Aug.	20, 1833	do	do	79
Amos Bennet.....	Private	80 00	240 00	do	Sept.	10, 1833	do	do	76
Isaac Brown.....	do	30 00	90 00	N. H. cont'l line	Dec.	19, 1833	do	do	79
Nathan Buel.....	do	31 90	95 70	Conn. militia	Mar.	1, 1834	do	do	72
Andrew Canfield.....	do	80 00	240 00	Conn. cont'l line	July	15, 1833	do	do	73
Dyer Crocker.....	Pri. & fifer	39 33	117 99	Conn. militia	Sept.	10, 1833	do	do	70
Henry Congdon.....	Pri. & ser.	67 19	201 57	R. I. militia	May	13, 1833	do	do	74
Edward Dimmick.....	Private	23 33	46 66	Conn. militia	May	4, 1833	do	do	86
Josiah Davis.....	do	20 00	60 00	do	do	do	do	do	76
John Darrow.....	do	60 00	180 00	N. Y. cont'l troops	Sept.	10, 1833	do	do	70
Peter Dickey.....	do	64 21	192 63	Conn. cont'l line	Feb.	15, 1834	do	do	84
James Eldridge.....	Sergeant	45 00	135 00	Conn. militia	May	13, 1833	do	do	80
Simeon Foot.....	Private	80 00	240 00	N. Y. cont'l troops	April	26, 1833	do	do	70
Silas Fowler.....	Sergeant	40 00	120 00	Conn. militia	May	2, 1833	do	do	87
Pardon Fish.....	Private	25 42	63 55	N. Y. militia	Sept.	10, 1833	do	do	83
Asabel Gregory.....	do	80 00	240 00	Penn. cont'l line	Mar.	5, 1833	do	do	75
Stephen Griffiths.....	Sergeant	57 98	173 94	N. Y. militia	July	8, 1833	do	do	85
George Gelat.....	Private	70 00	210 00	R. I. militia	Aug.	8, 1833	do	do	75
Garner Isbell.....	do	33 33	99 99	Conn. militia	June	28, 1833	do	do	72
Luther Kallam.....	do	70 65	211 95	Conn. cont'l line	July	15, 1833	do	do	74
John Lock.....	Pri. & ser.	94 64	283 92	Mass. cont'l line	June	27, 1833	do	do	82
Rufus Lines.....	Private	20 00	60 00	Conn. militia	July	9, 1833	do	do	69
Luther Leet.....	do	42 75	do	do	Aug.	10, 1833	do	do	70
Ezekiel Main.....	do	48 63	145 89	Conn. cont'l line	Mar.	27, 1833	do	do	74
Nathan Maxon.....	do	50 00	150 00	R. I. State troops	July	8, 1833	do	do	75

No report yet received of payment made.

Susquehanna County, p. 184.

NAME.	Rank.	Annual allow- ance.	Sums re- ceived.	Description of service.	When placed on the pension roll.	Commencement of pension.	is 9 2 4	Laws under which they were formerly inscribed on the pension roll; and remarks.
Nicholas Miller.....	Private	80 00	240 00	N. Y. militia	Mar. 4, 1834	Mar. 4, 1831	75	
Isacher Nicholson.....	do	60 00	180 00	do	Feb. 15, 1833	do	76	
Joseph Potter.....	do	43 33	129 99	Mass. cont'l line	May 4, 1833	do	74	
Henry Prayne.....	do	50 00	150 00	N. Y. militia	July 12, 1833	do	69	
Thaddeus Peet.....	do	26 66	66 66	Conn. cont'l line	Oct. 16, 1833	do	83	
John Reynolds.....	do	24 16	72 48	Conn. militia	May 13, 1833	do	73	
Caleb Richardson.....	Pri. & fier	36 66	109 98	Mass. militia	July 8, 1833	do	71	
Samuel Scott.....	Private	21 19	63 57	N. J. militia	May 4, 1833	do	75	
Ashwell Southwell.....	do	25 30	37 81	Conn. cont'l line	do	do	74	Died September 2, 1832.
Zeriah Scott.....	do	26 66	79 98	Vermont militia	do	do	67	
Christopher Sherman...	do	20 00	50 00	Penn. militia	Sept. 10, 1833	do	75	
Thomas Tiffany.....	Pri. corp. & serg.	83 99	251 97	Mass. cont'l line	July 8, 1833	do	78	
John Thatcher.....	Private	34 52	103 56	Mass. militia	do	do	75	
Nathaniel Tower.....	Pri. corp. & serg.	36 76	110 28	N. J. militia	July 9, 1833	do	86	
Isaac Turrill.....	Private	36 66	109 98	Conn. militia	July 15, 1833	do	71	
Eseck Thayer.....	Pri. art. & infantry	90 00	270 00	R. I. cont'l line	Sept. 10, 1833	do	71	
Hosea Tiffany.....	Pri. corp. & serg.	84 00	179 20	Mass. cont'l line	Oct. 10, 1833	do	78	Died April 22, 1833.
Elias Van Winkle.....	Private	25 19	75 57	N. J. militia	July 8, 1833	do	75	
Anthony Weaver.....	do	50 00	100 00	N. J. cont'l troops	May 2, 1833	do	83	
Ephraim Warefield.....	do	80 00	200 00	Mass. cont'l line	June 29, 1833	do	74	
Enos Whiting.....	do	36 66	109 98	Conn. cont'l line	Oct. 8, 1833	do	72	
Samuel Yeomans.....	Sergeant	52 63	148 89	Conn. militia	Mar. 13, 1833	do	88	

Susquehanna County, p. 202.

Putnam Catlin..... | Life major | 100 00 | 972 00 | 2d. reg. Conn. line | Aug. 18, 1828 |

Wayne County, p. 125.

Jonathan Arnold.....	Priate	96 00	1528 76	Penn. cont'l line	Sept.	17, 1818	April	2, 1818	76	Died April 21, 1824.
Stephen Bennett.....	do	96 00	174 19	Conn. cont'l line	Mar.	20, 1819	May	12, 1818	74	
James Bigelow.....	do	96 00	1481 06	Mass. cont'l	July	21, 1819	April	1, 1818	72	
Henry Curtis, alias Henry Bass.....	do	96 00	29 03	N. York cont'l	Jan.	19, 1820	Nov.	16, 1819	76	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820.
Wakeman Hall.....	do	96 00	1426 63	Conn. cont'l line	Mar.	20, 1819	April	25, 1818	76	
Benjamin Haines.....	do	96 00	178 58	N. York cont'l	Jan.	23, 1822	Aug.	31, 1820	72	Died July 9, 1822.
Jonathan Jennings.....	do	96 00	1240 76	Penn. cont'l	Mar.	4, 1819	April	2, 1818	71	
Gershom Joy.....	Sergeant	96 00	319 47	Mass. cont'l	June	9, 1819	do	63		Died July 30, 1821.
Samuel Seeley, Sr.....	Private	96 00	1528 77	Penn. cont'l	Sept.	11, 1819	do	do	75	
Henry Sampson.....	Private	96 00	1456 26	Mass. cont'l	May	24, 1820	July	4, 1818	67	
Samuel Seely, 2d.....	Artificer	96 00	156 64	Penn. cont'l	Sept.	24, 1829	July	18, 1829	75	
John Tiffany.....	do	96 00	178 09	Mass. cont'l	Sept.	7, 1819	April	27, 1818	72	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820.
Silas Tyler.....	do	96 00	1057 03	do	Sept.	8, 1823	Mar.	1, 1823	84	From New York from Septem- ber 4, 1832.
Benjamin Wheeler.....	do	96 00	185 03	Penn. cont'l line	Oct.	6, 1818	April	1, 1818	62	Dropped from the roll under act May 1, 1820.
Gideon Woodmansee....	do	96 00	1522 89	Mass. cont'l	Mar.	22, 1819	April	24, 1818	78	

Wayne County, p. 191.

William Akers.....	Private	42 56	127 68	N. Jersey militia	Oct.	9, 1833	Mar.	4, 1831	98	
John Bennet.....	do	80 00	240 00	Conn. cont'l line	May	9, 1833	do	do	81	
Zedekiah Benham.....	do	40 00	120 00	N. Jersey militia	Dec.	30, 1833	do	do	72	
John Bonnell.....	do	30 00	do	do	July	1, 1834	do	do	77	No report yet received of pay- ment made.
Michael Grennell.....	do	30 00	90 00	Penn. cont'l line	Jan.	23, 1833	do	do	82	
Sylvanus Gates.....	do	33 33	do	Mass. militia	July	1, 1834	do	do	86	No report yet received of pay- ment made.
John Griswold.....	do	20 77	do	do	do	do	do	do	76	No report yet received of pay- ment made.
John Homan.....	Prl. & ser.	106 66	319 98	N. Jersey militia	Jan.	19, 1833	do	do	89	
Silas Hoadley.....	Private	30 00	90 00	Conn. militia	July	12, 1833	do	do	77	
Eliphalet Kellogg.....	Corporal	88 00	264 00	New York militia	Feb.	15, 1833	do	do	71	

Wayne County, p. 191—continued.

NAME.	Rank.	Annual allow- ance.	Sums re- ceived.	Description of service.	When placed on the pension roll.	Commencement of pension.	Age.	Laws under which they were formerly inscribed on the pension roll; and remarks.
Robert Ledyard.....	Private	40 00	120 00	Mass. militia	Jan. 23, 1833	do	77	
William O'Brien.....	do	40 00	120 00	R. I. cont'l line	Dec. 30, 1833	do	83	
Jeremiah Osgood.....	do	80 00		Conn. cont'l line	July 1, 1834	do	71	No report yet received of pay- ment made.
Samuel Rogers.....	do	36 66	91 65	Conn. cont'l troops	Mar. 23, 1833	do	75	

Wayne County, p. 202.

Benjamin Wheeler.....	Corporal	88 00	352 00	— reg. Conn. line	Jan. 8, 1829	George Wolf, agent	
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OBITUARIES.

SAMUEL LeROI BROWN.

Life member of this Society and Trustee, died Wilkes-Barré, December 23, 1906. He was born Mount Pleasant, Pa., February 5, 1833, son of Thomas Hancock and Lucy (Howe) Brown, Stonington, Conn., and Mount Pleasant, Pa. He began his commercial life at twenty years of age under the firm of S. L. Brown & Co. In 1863 he bought and worked the Mount Pleasant tannery until the financial crisis of 1867; then became general manager of Conyngham & Paine in the oil business, Wilkes-Barré. When this firm dissolved in 1879, having recovered much of his lost capital, he bought the plot on Market street, erected what is still known as the Brown Block—two hundred feet front and four stories high—and established there a successful wholesale oil trade. He also bought and successfully established what was known for many years as the "Brown Book Store", on the present site of the First National Bank. He was a man whose energies could not be cramped; progressive and practical, with a courage that always sustained him; hence he was actively engaged in many other ventures. He was an organizer and President of the Keystone Coal Company in 1887 at Mill Creek; an organizer and Director of the Langcliffe Coal Co., Pleasant Valley; Director First National Bank, Wilkes-Barré, 1886-1909; Wilkes-Barré Electric Light Co.; Hazard Manufacturing Co., serving as Treasurer and Secretary, 1899-1909. He was also Trustee and Vice President Wilkes-Barré Board of Trade for over twenty years, and one of its organizers. His church activities were equally as numerous. An incorporated Trustee of the Diocese of Central Pennsylvania, and Bethlehem; member Board of Missions, Deputy to the Conventions; Communicant, Vestryman and Warden of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church; member Lodge 218, F. and A. M., 1855-1909; member of the Westmoreland Club. He was elected a member of the Wyoming Historical-Geological Society, 1882, and

served as Trustee, 1890-1909; filling every office he held with fidelity and active service. He married, first, 1855, Miss Almira Gritman, who died 1871. He married, second, Mrs. Ella May Woodward Chapman, who died May 3, 1905. He had by the first marriage Thomas W. Brown and Russell S. Brown; by the second marriage, Carlton Conyngham Brown, Robert Chapman Brown, and Stanley Wardwell Brown.

LIEUT. JOSEPH WRIGHT GRAEME, U. S. N.

Life member of this Society, died April 14, 1906. He was born New York City, August 14, 1875, son of Thomas Graeme, Esq., of Wilkes-Barré, Insurance Adjuster, and his wife, Ellen Hendrick (Wright) Graeme; and grandson of John Graeme, b. at Gorthy, Perthshire, Scotland, for many years a leading merchant of Richmond, Virginia, and of Hon. Hendrick Bradley Wright, of Wilkes-Barré, for many years a member of the Luzerne County Bar and of the United States Congress.

Descended on both sides from prominent ancestors, Lieutenant Graeme proved himself worthy of his lineage. He graduated from the Hillman Academy, Wilkes-Barré, 1893. Was appointed Cadet to the United States Naval Academy, September 6, 1893; graduated 1897 and served as Naval Cadet on the U. S. S. Iowa in the Spanish-American War, commanding the forward port turret in the battle with Cervera's fleet, 1898. Commissioned Ensign July 1, 1899, he served on the U. S. S. Marietta from August 5, 1899, in the Philippines and in Chinese waters; commissioned Lieutenant (Junior Grade) July 1, 1902, he was transferred to the U. S. S. Monterey until November 10, 1902, when he was on duty at the Navy Yard, D. C. Promoted December 27, 1903, Lieutenant, and attached, April 18, 1905, to the U. S. S. Maryland in Cuban waters, where he was killed by an explosion on the U. S. S. Kearsage while on inspection duty April 14, 1906. He was a communicant of St. Stephen's Church. He was a noble character, full of unusual promise as a man and an officer, and deservedly so in every sphere of his young life. He married January 17, 1903, Ethel Robinson, daughter of James Attmore Robinson, of New York, who with one child, Alice, survives him. Lieutenant Graeme became a Life Member of this Society September 4, 1904.

COL. ELISHA ATHERTON HANCOCK.

Life member of this Society, who died Philadelphia, May 18, 1906, was born Plains Township, Luzerne County, June 12, 1839, son of James and Mary (Perkins) Hancock, and grandson of Jonathan and Katherine (Young) Hancock of Luzerne County. Educated at Wyoming Seminary, intending to study mechanics, when the Civil War opened for him a military career he entered the United States service October 29, 1861 as First Lieutenant, 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He was promoted Captain May 22, 1863; Major, January 10, 1865; honorably discharged July 18, 1865. Serving with the Army of the Cumberland he lost a leg while commanding the 3d Battalion of his regiment March 16, 1865. Returning home, he engaged in the mining supply business from 1865-1875, when he organized the firm of Hancock & Co., grain merchants, Philadelphia, 1875-1906. He was an organizer and Director of the People's Bank, Wilkes-Barré. In Philadelphia he was President of the Commercial Exchange; a founder and Director Fourth Street National Bank; Director Merchants' Beneficial Association; Penn'a. & N. Y. Canal & Railroad Co.; Director and Vice President Union League; member of the Loyal Legion, the Council of the Commandery, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Rittenhouse, and Country Clubs, Governor Hoyt appointed him Quarter Master General of the State of Pennsylvania, with rank of Colonel.

He married 1st, 1866, Julia A. Reichard; 2d, Lydia Chapman Woodward, who died 1887; 3d, Rose Grier Simonton. He had by his first marriage James Hancock, of Philadelphia.

Col. Hancock was elected Life Member of this Society in 1901.

ROBERT BAUR.

A member of this Society, died in Wilkes-Barré, Pa., May 31, 1906. He was born at Württemberg, Germany, December 25, 1825. His grandfather, Rev. Samuel Baur, for thirty years pastor of the Lutheran Church in Göttingen, was educated at the Universities of Jena and Tubingen, a soldier and

an author of note, whose eldest son, Rev. Frederick Jacob Baur, born Göttingen, 1796, educated at Tübingen, succeeded his father as pastor at Göttingen for more than fifty years. He married Catherine Hahn. Of their children, Robert Baur, the eldest son, educated at Ulm, came to Philadelphia, 1848, and thence to Wilkes-Barré, where, until his death, he conducted a binding and printing business. For forty-six years he was the proprietor and editor of "*The Waechter*" and other German publications. He was a member of St. Paul's Lutheran Church. He was President of the Wilkes-Barré Manaerchor; and for six years was a soldier in the Jaeger Military Company, and was widely known throughout this section.

He married, October 15, 1854, Pauline Hassold, of Philadelphia, and had Gustav Adolph Baur, his only son.

He was made a member of this Society in May, 1858, retaining his membership for forty-eight years.

EDWARD STERLING LOOP.

Life member of this Society, died Wilkes-Barré, Pa., October 26, 1906. He was born Elmira, N. Y., February 11, 1823, a son of Peter P. Loop of Elmira and his wife Eliza Irene, daughter of General William Ross, of Wilkes-Barré, and grandson of Peter Loop, Jr., one of the Commissioners appointed by the Susquehanna Company September 25, 1786. Educated in Wilkes-Barré, at his maturity he entered the mercantile house of Warner Loop & Co., New York City, until May 7, 1853, when he became clerk in the Wyoming Bank of Wilkes-Barré. He was elected Cashier November 21, 1853, and a Director November 28, 1859. After serving twenty-one years as Cashier he resigned September 3, 1874, and retired from business life. He married December 28, 1852, Cornelia B., daughter of Samuel and Lydia (Wadhams) French, of Plymouth. They had one child, Estelle, now the wife of Major Charles F. Larrabee of Washington. Mr. Loop was elected a resident member of this Society April 4, 1859, and Life Member April 11, 1899.

THEODORE STRONG.

Resident member of this Society, died West Pittston, Pa., March 28, 1907. Born Somers, Conn., January 25, 1820, son of Rev. William L. and Harriet (Deming) Strong, he was of the seventh generation from Elder John and Abigail (Ford) Strong, of Dorchester, Mass., 1630, among the most prominent of the early settlers of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Mr. Strong was a brother of Hon. William Strong, LL. D., Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Educated at Geneva, N. Y., he moved to Pittston, Pa., 1843, where he was connected with the Butler Coal Company, and other coal and mercantile ventures. He was an organizer and for forty years President of the First National Bank, Pittston; President Pittston Bridge Company; and of the Bankers' Association of Luzerne and Lackawanna counties; Director Delaware, Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad. In 1869 he was the Republican candidate for the U. S. Congress against Hon. G. W. Woodward.

He was elected a member of this Society February 11, 1898. Mr. Strong married 1st, October 3, 1854, Mary Elizabeth Benedict, who died 1869; 2d, Elizabeth D. Wilson, who with three children survives him.

WILLIAM GLASSELL ENO.

Resident member of this Society, died Wilkes-Barre, May 16, 1907, where he was born July 16, 1852, the son of Josiah William and Louisa Brown (Glassell) Eno. He descended on his paternal side in the seventh generation from James Eno and Hannah Bidwell, of Windsor, Conn., 1646; on his maternal side from John and Mary (Calter) Glassell, of Scotland, 1670, and Virginia, 1756.

From 1869 to 1874 Mr. Eno was engaged in the coal business with his father.

In 1874 he became a member of the insurance firm of Biddle & Eno, continuing most successfully until his death.

He was a member of Lodge 324, F. & A. M., Plymouth; Dieu le Veut Commandery; the Thirty-second Degree Scot-

tish Rite; the Mystic Shrine, and the B. P. O. E. He was also a communicant of St. Stephen's Church, and became a member of the Wyoming Historical Geological Society.

Married June 12, 1889, to Marian Borden, of Pottsville, Pa., they had two children, Josiah William and Jean, who survive him.

GUSTAV ADOLPH BAUR.

Life member of this Society, and son of Robert and Pauline (Hassold) Baur, died Wilkes-Barré, Pa., May 27, 1907. He was born, Wilkes-Barré, in 1861. In 1881, having learned the printing business with his father, he was admitted to the firm of Robert Baur & Son. He succeeded to the business after his father's death. He married Kate Davis, who with three children survive him. He became a member of this Society, February 11, 1886, and was made a Life Member March 4, 1908.

WILLIAM LORD CONYNGHAM.

Life member of this Society, died Wilkes-Barré, Pa., December 29, 1907. He was born Wilkes-Barré, November 21, 1829, son of Hon. John Nesbitt Conyngham, LL. D., of that city, and his wife, Ruth Ann Butler, daughter of General Lord Butler, eldest son of Col. Zebulon Butler and Anne (Lord) Butler of Revolutionary fame.

Mr. Conyngham on his father's side was grandson of David Hayfield Conyngham of the Revolutionary firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., of Philadelphia, who saved Washington's Army at Valley Forge by a donation of 5,000 pounds of pork when the Army was on the verge of starvation. In the Conyngham "Reminiscence," Vol. VIII, Proceedings of this Society, p. 182, will be found fuller reference to the ancestry of that family.

Colonel Zebulon Butler, great grandfather of W. L. Conyngham, was the Continental officer who commanded the Wyoming forces at the battle of July 3, 1778. His military

record will be found in Vol. VII, Proceedings of this Society, p. 150. (See also for Conyngham, pp. 9-14, and for Butler, pp. 47-54, Vol. I, "Genealogical and Family History of Wyoming Valley, etc.")

William L. Conyngham was for many years a member of the firm of Ebey, Conyngham & Herr, Philadelphia, later Ebey & Conyngham, produce merchants. He was also for some years a coal operator with Charles Parrish, in the firm of Parrish & Conyngham. These two were the pioneers in developing the coal trade in the Wyoming Valley. Together they operated the Empire colliery in Wilkes-Barré; the South Wilkes-Barré colliery, and the Sugar Notch colliery, and others—which they subsequently sold to the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barré Coal Company; also the Pine Ridge colliery, which they sold to the Delaware & Hudson Coal Company. Mr. Conyngham was also extensively engaged in the sale of coal for thirty-six years with Joseph Stickney under the firm names of Conyngham & Co., Stickney & Conyngham, Stickney, Conyngham & Co. at No. 1 Broadway, N. Y., and 19 Congress street, Boston, also J. Hilles & Co., Baltimore; James Boyd & Co. in Philadelphia, and J. Boyd & Co., Harrisburg; also Boyd, Stickney & Co., Harrisburg, Chicago & St. Louis, agents for the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. anthracite coal, north, south, east and west. Stickney & Conyngham opened and operated the Lytle Coal Company of Pottsville, Pa.; the Union Coal Company, Shamokin, Pa., and the William Penn colliery near Pottsville. He was also associated with L. C. Paine in the firm of Conyngham & Paine, commission merchants, Wilkes-Barré.

Mr. Conyngham was also largely associated with the business and civil life of Wilkes-Barré and the valley in many ways—as President for many years, until 1886, of the Wilkes-Barré Gas Company; a Manager of the Hollenback Cemetery Association; Trustee and Vice President Osterhout Free Library; President of the Hazard Wire Rope Works; Vice President Miners' Savings Bank; member of the City Council; Trustee of the B. I. A.; Vestryman of St. Stephen's Church and a large contributor to its charities, and general work; a charter member of the Wilkes-Barre City Hospital, 1873.

Mr. Conyngham married December 6, 1864, Olivia Hillard, daughter of Oliver Burr and Harriet A. (Roberts)

Hillard of Charleston, South Carolina, and Wilkes-Barré. Mrs. Conyngham descends through Captain David Hilliard of Little Compton, Rhode Island, son of William, 1650; from Lieutenant Thomas Miner of Salem, Massachusetts, 1630, and many others of prominence in early New England history. They have had two sons, John Nesbitt Conyngham and William Hillard Conyngham of Wilkes-Barré, both Life Members of this Society. Mr. Conyngham (whose brother, Colonel John Butler Conyngham, was a founder of the Society,) was made a member 1866, Vice President 1881, and Life Member 1884.

MRS. ESTHER TAYLOR (FRENCH) WADHAMS.

Life Member of this Society, died Wilkes-Barré, Pa., February 12, 1908. She was born in Plymouth, Pa., February 12, 1830, her death occurring on her seventy-eighth birthday.

She was the widow of Hon. Elijah Catlin Wadhams, who was born in Plymouth, July 17, 1825, and who died Wilkes-Barré, January 18, 1899, son of Calvin Wadhams, and grandson of Rev. Noah Wadhams, an early Methodist clergyman in Plymouth from 1772 to 1806, and the fourth in descent from John Wadhams, who came from England to Connecticut 1650.

Hon. E. C. Wadhams, a graduate of the University of New York, 1847, was a prosperous merchant for twenty-five years, Justice of the Peace for twenty years, Burgess of Plymouth seven years, a Director of the Wyoming National Bank, and the First National Bank, Wilkes-Barré, and for years President of the last named. He was also prominent in Masonic Circles, and an active member and officer of the Central M. E. Church, Wilkes-Barré. He represented Luzerne County in the Pennsylvania Senate in 1876.

Mrs. Esther T. Wadhams was the daughter of Samuel French, born Bridgeport, Connecticut, July 6, 1803. He married May 21, 1829, Lydia Wadhams, born October 23, 1803, daughter of Moses and Ellen (Hendrick) Wadhams, who came to Plymouth 1799, the sixth child of Rev. Noah Wadhams, *supra*.


Samuel French was an early resident of Plymouth, coming there from Connecticut 1808, with his mother and his stepfather, John Smith, one of the pioneers in coal operations in Plymouth. He was the son of Samuel French of Weston, Conn., and his wife, Frances (Holberton) French, widow of John Smith, and grandson of Samuel French of Weston, 1766, a soldier of the Revolution, and his wife, Sarah Hall, daughter of Nathaniel Hall. He was a descendant of Captain William French of Billerica, Mass., 1634—thus William—Thomas—Frances—Samuel.

Mrs. Esther T. Wadhams was educated at the Wyoming Seminary under Rev. Dr. Reuben Nelson, and at the Moravian Seminary, Bethlehem.

She was a lady of a quiet, retiring disposition, of refined and historic tastes, for many years an active, consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; one of the Managers of the Home for Friendless Children in Wilkes-Barré, and a charter member and a Manager of the Wyoming Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

She married Mr. Wadhams October 17, 1851, and is survived by seven children, three sons, Samuel French, Ralph Holberton, and Moses Waller, all members of this Society, and four daughters, Ellen Hendrick, Cornelia French, Stella Catlin, and Lydia French.

Mrs. Wadhams was elected a member of this Society in 1872, the first lady member to be elected into the Society, and was placed on the Life Member list in 1908.



MEMBERS DECEASED SINCE ISSUE OF VOL. X.

LIFE.

Levi Ives Shoemaker, M. D., died September 27, 1909.
Hon. Charles Dorrance Foster, died September 29, 1909.
Mrs. Mary (Conyngham) Parrish, died October 9, 1909.
Percy Rutter Thomas, died March 15, 1910.
Joseph Habersham Bradley, Jr., died —

ANNUAL.

Mrs. Augusta (Dorrance) Farnham, died February 7, 1909.
Samuel Henley Lynch, died April 19, 1909.
Col. George Nicholas Richard, died September 2, 1909.
John Laning, died September 27, 1909.
Mrs. Maud (Baldwin) Raub, died October 23, 1909.
Mrs. Stella (Shoemaker) Ricketts, died November 16, 1909.
George Shoemaker, died February 3, 1910.
Miss Elizabeth H. Rockwell, died April 26, 1910.
Charles Law, died July 11, 1910.
Edward Franklin Payne, died October 17, 1910.

HONORARY.

Mrs. Andrew Jackson Griffith, died May 22, 1910.
Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt, died November 20, 1910.

CORRESPONDING.

Rev. Sanford Hoadley Cobb, died
Horace See, died December 14, 1909.
Capt. John M. Buckalew, died May 30, 1910.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1910.

PRESIDENT.

IRVING ARIEL STEARNS.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

REV. HENRY LAWRENCE JONES, S. T. D.
DR. LEWIS HARLOW TAYLOR,
WILLIAM HILLARD CONYNGHAM,
DORRANCE REYNOLDS.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN.

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

MISS ERNESTINE MARTIN KAEHLIN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

SIDNEY ROBY MINER.

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CHARLES WELLES BIXBY.

TRUSTEES.

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EDWARD WELLES, RICHARD SHARPE,
HENRY HERBERT ASHLEY.

CURATORS.

ARCHAEOLOGY—CHRISTOPHER WREN.
NUMISMATICS—REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.
MINERALOGY—WILLIAM REYNOLDS RICKETTS.
PALAEOONTOLOGY—JOSHUA LEWIS WELTER.
PALAEOBOTANY—WILLIAM GRIFFITH.

HISTORIOGRAPHER.

FREDERICK CHARLES JOHNSON, M. D.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.
MISS MYRA POLAND.
GEORGE FREDERICK CODDINGTON.

ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP.

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*Mrs. Andrew Jackson Griffith.	Joseph George Rosengarten, LL. D.
Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D.	William Berryman Scott, Ph. D.
*Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt.	Lion Gardener Tyler, LL. D.
*Rev. Henry H. Jessup, D. D.	Rev. Ethelbert Dudley Warfield, LL. D.
Rt. Rev. J. M. Levering, D. D.	David White, Washington, D. C.
Thomas Lynch Montgomery.	Edward H. Williams, Jr., F. G. S. A.
Frederick B. Peck, Ph. D.	Rev. William M. Beauchamp, S. T. D.

CORRESPONDING.

Edwin Swift Balch.	Granville Henry.
Thomas Willing Balch.	Thomas Cramer Hopkins, Ph. D.
Edmund Mills Barton.	Ray Greene Huling, Sc. D.
T. V. Braidwood.	Hon. William Huntling Jessup.
D. L. Belden.	Charles Johnson.
Alfred Franklin Berlin.	John Wolfe Jordan, LL. D.
Maynard Bixby.	Rev. Charles H. Kidder.
Robert Alonzo Brock, F. R. H. S.	Rev. Cornelius Rutser Lane, Ph. D.
Philip Alexander Bruce, LL. B.	Dr. J. R. Loomis.
George Butler.	Hon. John Maxwell.
Pierce Butler.	Edward Miller.
*Capt. John M. Buckalew.	Millard P. Murray.
Gen. John S. Clark.	Arthur C. Parker.
*Rev. Sanford Hoadley Cobb.	John Peters.
D. M. Collins.	James H. Phinney.
Stewart Culin.	Rev. J. J. Pearce.
Samuel L. Cutter.	William Poillon.
John H. Dager.	S. R. Reading.
Charles Edmund Dana.	J. C. Rhodes.
Harry Cassel Davis, A. M., Ph. D.	Joseph Trimble Rothrock, M. D.
Gen. Wm. Watts H. Davis.	H. N. Rust, M. D.
Rev. Samuel Bayard Dod, A. M.	Lieut. Henry M. M. Richards.
Elnathan F. Duren.	William M. Samson.
George M. Elwood.	Mrs. Gertrude (Griffith) Sanderson.
Prof. William Frear, Ph. D.	*Horace See.
Hon. John Gosse Freeze.	W. H. Starr.
Frank Butler Gay.	Thomas Sweet, M. D.
William Griffith.	S. L. Thurlow.
P. C. Gritman.	Hon. Charles Tubbs.
Francis Whiting Halsey.	Samuel French Wadhams.
Stephen Harding.	Abram Waltham.
David Chase Harrington.	Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White.
A. L. Hartwell.	William Alonzo Wilcox.
Christopher E. Hawley.	

*Deceased.

†LIFE MEMBERS.

By payment of \$100.

FOUNDERS.

- *James Plater Dennis.
- *Col. John Butler Conyngham.
- *Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt.
- *Hon. Stanley Woodward.

‡BENEFACTORS.

George Slocum Bennett.
 Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr.
 Mrs. Sophia E. (Norris) Coxe.
 Mrs. Sophie G. (Fisher) Coxe.
 Miss Amelia Baird Hollenback.
 John Welles Hollenback.
 Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.
 Andrew Hunlock.
 Fred Morgan Kirby.

*Hon. Charles Abbott Miner.
 Abram Nesbitt.
 *Isaac Smith Osterhout.
 *Mrs. Elizabeth (Laning) Smith.
 Irving Ariel Stearns.
 *Gen. William Sterling Ross.
 Lewis Harlow Taylor, M. D.
 Edward Welles.

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 *Lucius Ashley.
 *Mrs. Caroline (Beadle) Ashley.
 Henry Herbert Ashley.
 Thomas Henry Atherton.
 *Miss Emily Isabella Alexander.
 *Gustav Adolph Baur.
 *Joseph Habersham Bradley, Jr.
 Mrs. Emily Fuller Bedford.
 George Reynolds Bedford.
 *Mrs. Priscilla (Lee) Bennett.
 *Miss Martha Bennet.
 Charles Welles Bixby.
 *William Brisbane, M. D.
 Robert Packer Broadhead.
 *Samuel LeRoi Brown.
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 Mrs. Anna Bennett (Phelps) Burrows.
 Hon. Sterling Ross Catlin.
 John Nesbitt Conyngham.
 William Hillard Conyngham.
 *William Lord Conyngham.
 *Mrs. Mae (Turner) Conyngham.
 *Alexander Brinton Coxe.
 *Hon. Eckley Brinton Coxe.
 *John M. Crane.
 *Hon. Edmund Lovell Dana.
 *Edward Payson Darling.
 Thomas Darling.

*Mrs. Alice (McClintock) Darling.
 Mrs. Dorothy Ellen (Dickson) Darte.
 Andrew Fine Derr.
 Andrew Fine Derr, Jr.
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 Miss Katherine Dickson Derr.
 Mrs. Mary D. (Fell) Derr.
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 *Henry Haupt Derr.
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 Mrs. Kate (Pettebone) Dickson.
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 *Lt. Joseph Wright Graeme, U.S.N.
 Mrs. Sarah H. (Wright) Guthrie.
 *Col. Elisha Atherton Hancock.
 *Hon. Garrick Mallery Harding.
 Henry Harrison Harvey.
 *Jamison Harvey.
 Mrs. Jennie (DeWitt) Harvey.
 James C. Haydon.
 Frederick Hillman.
 George Baker Hillman.
 *Henry Baker Hillman.

- Miss Anna Welles Hollenback.
 Miss Julietta Geneve Hollenback.
 *George Matson Hollenback.
 *Miss Elizabeth Waller Horton.
 *Francis William Hunt.
 *Charles Farmer Ingham, M. D.
 Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D.
 Frederick Green Johnson.
 *Edwin Horn Jones.
 *Richard Jones.
 *Ralph Dupuy Lacoe.
 Woodward Leavenworth.
 *Woodward Leavenworth, Jr.
 George Cahoon Lewis.
 *Edward Sterling Loop.
 Charles Noyes Loveland.
 Miss Elizabeth Shepard Loveland.
 *George Loveland.
 *William Loveland.
 *William Ross Maffet.
 Col. John Miner Carey Marble.
 Alvin Markle.
 Andrew Hamilton McClintock.
 *Mrs. Augusta (Cist) McClintock.
 Col. Asher Miner.
 Mrs. Eliza Ross (Atherton) Miner.
 Charles Howard Miner, M. D.
 Sidney Roby Miner.
 *Charles Morgan.
 *Lawrence Myers.
 Abram Goodwin Nesbitt.
 Frederick Nesbitt.
 *George Francis Nesbitt.
 *Mrs. Sara Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt
 Daniel Edwards Newell.
 Mrs. Esther (Shoemaker) Norris.
 *Lewis Compton Paine.
 *Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D.
 *Charles Parrish.
 *Mrs. Mary (Conyngham) Parrish.
 Mrs. Ella (Reets) Parish.
 *Calvin Parsons.
 Maj. Oliver Alphonsa Parsons.
 Joseph Emmet Patterson.
 William Grant Payne.
 William Theodore Payne.
 *Payne Pettebone.
 Francis Alexander Phelps.
 *John Case Phelps.
 Mrs. Martha (Bennett) Phelps.
 William John Raeder.
 *John Reichard, Jr.
 Benjamin Reynolds.
 *Mrs. Annie B. (Dorrance) Reynolds.
 Dorrance Reynolds, M. A., LL. B.
 Miss Edith Lindsley Reynolds.
 *Col. George Murray Reynolds.
 Schuyler Lee Reynolds.
 *William Champion Reynolds.
 Robert Bruce Ricketts, 2d.
 William Reynolds Ricketts.
 *Ferdinand Vandevere Rockafellow.
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 *William Penn Ryman.
 Miss Rosalys Ryman.
 Theodore F. Ryman.
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 Miss Caroline Johnston Sharpe.
 Miss Elizabeth Montgomery Sharpe.
 Miss Mary A. Sharpe.
 *Richard Sharpe, Sr.
 Richard Sharpe.
 Richard Sharpe, Jr.
 *Mrs. Sally (Patterson) Sharpe.
 Miss Sallie Sharpe.
 Miss Rosa Duncan Sharpe.
 *Arthur Yeager Shepherd.
 Miss Esther Shoemaker Stearns.
 Addison Alexander Sterling.
 Forrest Garrison Stevens.
 Mrs. Sarah Covell (Maffet) Stevens.
 Walter S. Stewart, M. D.
 Charles Jones Shoemaker.
 Mrs. C. W. (Scranton) Shoemaker.
 Miss Jane Augusta Shoemaker.
 *Hon. Lazarus Denison Shoemaker.
 *Levi Ives Shoemaker, M. D.
 Thomas Kirkbride Sturdevant.
 James Sutton.
 *John Henry Swoyer.
 Mrs. Sarah (Nesbitt) Smythe.
 Miss Katharine Conyngham Snyder.
 Miss Eleanor Parrish Snyder.
 Mrs. Emily (Hollenback) Taylor.
 *Percy Rutter Thomas.
 Miss Sallie Brinton Thomas.
 *Ephriam Troxell.
 Miss Rosa Troxell.
 Mrs. Martha (Sharpe) Tucker.
 John Augustus Turner.
 Louis Hollenback Twyefforth.
 *Hon. Samuel Gonsalus Turner.
 *Stephen Buckingham Vaughn.
 *Mrs. Esther T. (French) Wadhams.

*Deceased.

*Calvin Wadhams.
 Raymond Lynde Wadhams, M. D.
 *Rev. David Jewett Waller.
 Edward Welles, Jr.
 *Rev. Henry Hunter Welles, D. D.
 George Woodward, M. D.
 Christopher Wren.
 Anthony Lawrence Williams.

*Mrs. Emily L. (Cist) Wright.
 *Harrison Wright, M. A., Ph. D.
 Harrison Wright, 3d.
 George Riddle Wright.
 *Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright.
 Mrs. Margaret M. (Myers) Yeager.
 *Elias Baylits Yordy.

*Deceased.

Total Life Members . . . 198
 Subscriptions due . . . 7
 —205

EXTRACT FROM BY-LAWS.

†“The payment of one hundred dollars at one time by a member not in arrears, shall constitute him a life member, with an exemption from all future payments.

“All moneys received on account of life membership, shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society, and shall form a fund to be called ‘The Life Membership Fund,’ the interest only of which shall be available for the uses of the Society.

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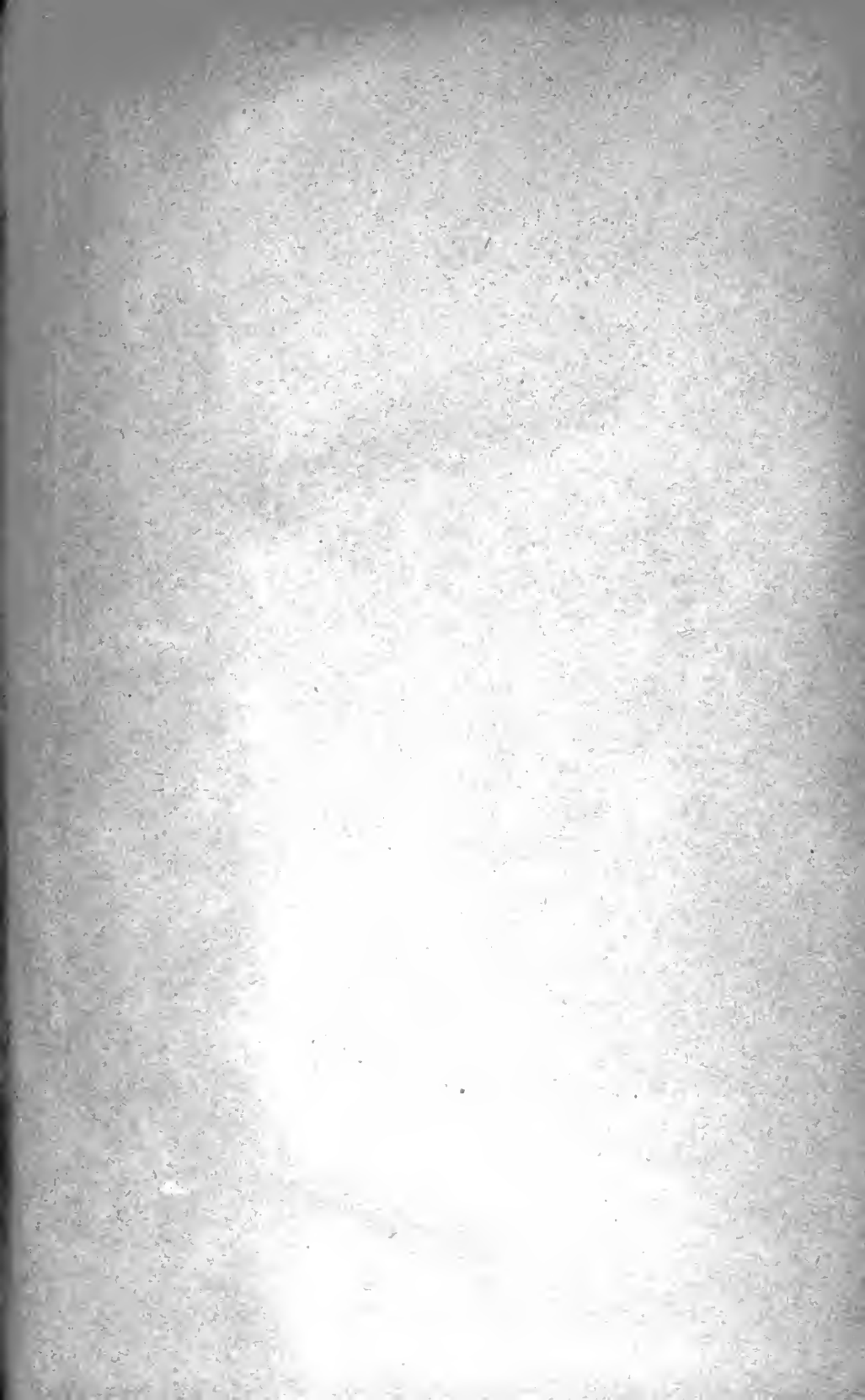
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